DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 039 998 RC 004 410

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TITLE "To Civilize the Indian...": A Survey of the Educational Philosophy and Programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Since 1928.
PUB DATE Jun 70
NOTE 325p.; Master's thesis submitted to the University of Wisconsin, Madison

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$1.25 HC-$16.35
DESCRIPTORS *Administration, *Agency Role, *American Indians, *Education, *Federal Government, Federal Legislation, Government Employees, Masters Theses, Programs, Research, Surveys
IDENTIFIERS *Bureau of Indian Affairs

ABSTRACT

An examination of the varied approaches to educate and assimilate the American Indian into the mainstream of American life by the Federal Government from 1928 through 1964 is presented in this thesis which provides background regarding programs initiated by each Federal administration in office during this period. Notable changes occurring during this 36-year period are pointed out by the study and are divided into 4 major phases: (1) the years of the Meriam study, 1928-1933, which recommended a change in point of view for the Indian in the process of education; (2) the John Collier administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), during 1933-1944, which brought about the Indian Reorganization Act that provided self-governing rights for the Indians; (3) the period of 1945-1960, which is noted for reorganization of the administrative structure of the BIA and the suggestion of termination of Federal responsibility; and (4) the early 1960's with a new administration and a new evaluation of BIA programs by the Federal Task Force. (EL)

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"TO CIVILIZE THE INDIAN...":
A SURVEY OF THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND PROGRAMS OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS SINCE 1928

Priscilla Wopat

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts (Anthropology) at
The University of Wisconsin
June, 1970

RC 004410

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I. Introduction

In recent years, anthropologists have been turning to the processes of education, both formal and informal, as a proper subject of anthropological study. Even though such anthropologists as Margaret Mead, Laura Thompson, and Oliver La Farge have long maintained an interest in educational processes, it has only been within the last 10 to 15 years that the subject has gained any wide recognition as being of interest to anthropology in itself.

Even today, anthropological study of formal education is confined largely to studies concerning the American Indians. As of yet, however, there has been little information gathered on the educating agency of the American Indian, the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system. This study is an attempt to provide such information. In the main, it is a historical survey, and will cover the 36-year period from 1928 to 1964. The year 1964 was chosen as the cut-off year for two reasons: 1) 1964 was simply convenient, the end of the administration of Phileo Nash as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. At the time the research was begun, the administration of the succeeding Commissioner, Robert Bennett, had not concluded. 2) More importantly, 1965 marks the beginning of the "War on Poverty" and its many programs to aid the poor and disadvantaged--Vista, the Teacher Corps, Head Start, programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity, etc., many of which were focused on the problems of educating poor, under-educated youth, including Indians. The task of sorting out these programs and evaluating them a) without having access to program plans in Washington, and b) without seeing these programs in action on specific reservations, is an immense one, and would probably yield very inconclusive and inaccurate results. In addition, there has been little published by the BIA concerning programs for the last six years, and without access to materials in Washington, detailed information on programs conducted during this time is difficult to obtain. Finally, much War on Poverty programming was carried on by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and not the Bureau of Indian Affairs; therefore, these programs are technically outside the scope of the thesis.

The study undertakes to review the philosophy and activities of the BIA in relation to one aspect of the Bureau program--formal education. Rather simplistically, formal education will be considered "schooling", or that which is taught in a classroom by a person or persons designated as teachers. The paper will deal largely with the policies, philosophy and activities of the BIA as expressed by the Branch of Education in Washington, D.C. The actual implementation of Washington policy in the field (i.e., in individual schools or on reservations) will not be explored in detail although information from individual reservations will be used to further develop themes of Bureau policy. In fact, it is assumed that policies made in Washington may often be distorted, misunderstood, or ignored in the field.[1]

This thesis reviews the value systems of Bureau personnel and how such values affected the programs under which Indian children were educated. Since Bureau policy was often determined by Congress (through the power of ratifying appointments and through the control of appropriations), it is necessary to review the attitudes and opinions of Congress with respect to Indian peoples. Thus a historical study of Bureau educational policy becomes a study of conflicting and changing value systems in Congress.

The work is limited in several respects. Mission schools lie outside the scope of the paper; since the 1880's, ties between the Federal Government and church-supported schools have been minimal, although it should be pointed out that relations between mission schools, individual Indian agencies, and Indians are, in practice, a function of local feeling and activity. BIA relations with the Alaskan natives also lie outside the scope of this paper; the non-reservation status of Eskimos and Aleuts and the status of Alaska as a territory for much of the time period under consideration place Alaskan natives in a different frame of reference than that utilized for American Indians.

The study is further limited to the educational activities of Indians in the elementary grades and high school; the progress of Indians in college is referred to only briefly. In part this is because, until the late 40's, there were few Indians who attended college. But more to the point, the BIA maintains no college as such, and public and private schools keep no records on Indians as a separate ethnic group.

Thus an Indian attending college becomes, for that school, another student, not an Indian student. To determine the progress of Indians in higher education, special surveys must be made. (See Artichoker, 1959)

Who Is An Indian?

The definition of an "Indian" is rather flexible, and depends upon the agency using the term. The Census Bureau considered (1930) that an Indian was a person having Indian "blood" to such a degree as to be recognized in his community as an Indian; more recently an Indian has been considered such if a person defines himself as an Indian. In an act of May 25, 1918, Congress expressed its "will" and stated that no appropriations, except pursuant to treaties, "shall be used to educate children of less than one-fourth Indian blood..." (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1929:5). The Cherokee Agency was excepted; there, children of less than one-quarter degree of Indian blood may attend federal schools.

Bureau definitions in the mid-30's involved inheritance rights, not blood quantum. Thus an Indian was "any person of Indian blood who through wardship, treaty, or inheritance has acquired certain rights" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1930:110). After the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), for most practical purposes the BIA eased itself out of the dilemma by letting the Indians themselves decide who they were. Thus, an Indian is he who fills the requirements of his tribe for being a member and so is enrolled on the tribal rolls. Each tribe decides what criteria shall entitle a person to be a member of the tribe, even though Congress showed considerable annoyance at such a social-situational definition.

Other definitions not requiring governmental recognition and involving self-identification and/or social identification by others are not critical for the purposes of this paper.

A study such as this attempts to provide background material to recent studies in Indian education made by anthropologists and others. American Indians have traditionally been the peoples among whom anthropologists have done field work, yet little attention has been given to the effects of the Bureau of Indian Affairs policy upon those Indians. The attempts of the Bureau to influence Indian life or direct culture change, and the manner in which Indians have lived in relation to the all-pervading presence of the BIA have received little comment from anthropologists in ethnographic studies, though the situation is rapidly changing.

Sources:

Source material for the thesis comes primarily from publications of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which includes the Commissioner's reports to the Secretary of the Interior; Congressional hearings on the Bureau and on bills which would affect Indians and Indian policy; and from books and speeches of individuals concerned with Indian welfare during the relevant years. This latter category includes publications of associations such as the Indian Rights Association, anthropologists (as Oliver La Farge and D'Arcy McNickle), Congressmen, and past and current Bureau officials writing or speaking outside the context of official Bureau administration policies. The viewpoints of Indians rarely appear, except in the context of hearings, since there were few Indians in Washington to express an Indian way of seeing Bureau policies (this may be the major reason why there are still problems of Indian administration). Circulars and memoranda issued by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, while they would have been useful in many cases, were not obtainable locally, and those that have been quoted were found in other documents, usually House and Senate reports.

II. The Meriam Report and Recognition of the "Indian Problem"

The Meriam Report

The Dawes Act of 1887 was intended to bring the American Indians into the culture and life of the United States as individuals and to "prepare the rising generation of Indians for the new order of things thus forced upon them" (Morgan in Tyler 1964:4). The act provided for the breaking up and distribution of reservation land to individual Indians, with the amount to be determined by the type of land (grazing, farming, etc.) and the "surplus" beyond this given amount per Indian to be held by the United States government for disposal as it saw fit. In addition, the act provided for the issuance of fee patents to Indians considered competent, competency to be determined by the superintendents of reservations. This meant that an Indian was considered capable of managing his own affairs, usually of a financial nature, without any interference from the BIA and as an ordinary private citizen.

There were few who opposed the passage of the Dawes Act; many people genuinely concerned with the welfare of Indians (and not merely land-hungry pioneers) supported the bill and fought for its passage. Unfortunately the hopes of those who saw the allotment policy and the ownership of individual pieces of land as a cure for the Indians' problems and as a means to assimilate the Indian were not realized.

> The policy [allotment] obviously put the cart before the horse. Although ownership of property is a characteristic feature of American life,

> ownership is normally evidence of successful mastery of certain techniques, procedures, habits and values. It is a result, not a cause. Giving a man a title to land, whether it be in trust or a patent in fee, teaches him nothing. The rationalization behind this policy is so obviously false that it could not have prevailed for so long a time if not supported by the avid demand of others for Indian lands. This was a way of getting them, usually at bargain prices. The unallotted lands were declared surplus and sold, and the Indian in nearly all cases got his fee patent and sold his allotment (Hoover Commission Report in Tyler:6).

Two-thirds of Indian land, or 90 million acres, were lost before the practice of issuing fee patents was abandoned; and the "Indian problem" increased, not lessened.

During the 1920's, the poverty and the incredibly poor management of Indian resources was brought to the attention of the American public at large, and a growing public opinion in favor of reforming Indian conditions began to make itself heard.

In 1921, the Board of Indian Commissioners began an investigation of the practices of the BIA concerning the issuance of fee patents irrespective of the particular Indian's wishes. The results of a questionnaire sent out to field agents of the Bureau showed that the majority of Indians to whom fee patents had been issued sold their land, apent the cash, and were soon living in poverty with relatives. Although the Board itself had no legal authority, it was an influential organization in the sense that its opinions concerning Indian affairs were closely listened to; created by Congress in 1869, it was composed of 10 persons appointed by the President, who were "eminent for intelligence and philanthropy" and who served "without pecuniary compensation".

> A second incident served to set the stage for reform; In November of 1922 there gathered at the Pueblo of Santo Domingo representatives to an all-Pueblo council, advertised as the first such meeting since the revolt of the Pueblo Indians against the Spanish in 1680. The purpose of this body was to raise a united voice against the Bursum Bill: "An Act to quiet the title to lands within Pueblo Indian land grants..." (Tyler:7).

The Bursum Bill was an attempt by Senator Bursum of New Mexico to give extensive rangeland and water belonging to the Pueblos to white trespassers on the land. The ensuing outcry in defense of the Pueblos by such organizations as the Indian Rights Association, the newly-formed American Indian Defense Association, the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the editor of the New York Times and the Indians themselves brought about the defeat of the Bursum Bill; more importantly it brought the conditions of the American Indian to public attention.

> With this impetus the Indian reform movement began in earnest. Writing articles for such magazines as Sunset, The Survey, Current History, and The Forum, such authors as John Collier, Stewart Edward White, James Willard Schultz, M. Clyde Kelly (member of the House Committee on Indian Affairs), Walter V. Woehlke, Mary Austin, Flora Warren Seymour, and others, often using strong language, pointed out the weakness in our Indian program and the failure of the Indian office to protect their charges against local politicians, land grabbers, bankers, businessmen, judges, and others (Tyler:8).

Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke put an end to the more blatant forms of Indian exploitation carried on by the previous administration of Secretary Fall and Commissioner Sells. In 1923, a halt was called to the issuance of fee patents, and attempts were begun to shift the responsibility of certain areas of Indian affairs to the states. Even more important, the first genuine attempt by a federal agency to "get the facts" about Indian conditions was made by this administration; in 1926, Secretary Work commissioned a survey of conditions of Indians of the United States to be made by the Brookings Institute. The results, printed in 1928 as The Problem of Indian Administration (known otherwise as the Meriam Report), mark the turning point in Indian affairs --a slow turn, true, but still a turning point.

Funds for the survey were supplied by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Lewis Meriam, a permanent member of the Institute for Government Research (Brookings Institute) staff, was appointed Technical Director. Specialists in nine divisions--legal aspects of Indian problems, economic conditions, conditions of Indian migrants to urban communities, health, material relating to Indians, family life and activities of women, education, and agriculture--were selected from several independent sources, and none of these specialists were or had been in the service of the BIA, since it was felt that association with the Bureau might prejudice, either favorably or unfavorably, the objectivity of the report done by such a person. In addition, an Indian, Henry Roe Cloud, was selected as Indian advisor to the report staff.

Secretary Work and other members of the Department of the Interior and representatives of the Institute for Government Research met during the spring of 1926 to discuss the undertaking of the survey and to lay the procedural groundwork. The Secretary wished to have such a survey completed in six months; the Institute felt that two years would be a more satisfactory amount of time for the work to be done. The Secretary noted that "a report submitted in two years might come too late in the administration of the Secretary to be of any real value to him" (Meriam 1928:56) while the Institute noted the complexity and diversity of problems concerning Indian affairs. A compromise of the submission of a report a year after field work was begun was finally agreed upon and discussion began on how the report would be conducted.

Study of census figures locating Indians throughout the United States

> ...quickly disclosed that it would be impracticable in a year's time to have the entire survey staff visit each jurisdiction and make a thorough first-hand investigation. Examination of existing material and interviews with persons familiar with the Indian situation disclosed that conditions in the various jurisdictions were very different, and that it would be impossible to study a few and generalize from them to the remainder, a fact which was fully borne out by the subsequent work of the survey. The practicable course appeared to be to lay out an itinerary with due regard to geography and climate in such a way that most of the larger and hence more important jurisdictions could be visited by most of the survey staff, and insofar as practicable to send one or two members of the party on brief inspectional trips to smaller jurisdictions within reach from the main itinerary. Thus, although the staff as a whole had a more or less common itinerary, there were many

> individual departures from it. The departures were to a considerable extent governed by the relative importance of different phases of the problem in various sections (62-63).

The time spent at one location by one person rarely exceeded two or three days, but similarity of activities and administrative structure within the Bureau resulted in the statement that "fairly early in the work it became possible in many fields to note quickly general conformity and to look mainly for differences" (66). The survey staff apparently managed to talk to everybody it could possibly talk to within the BIA reservation structure; in addition, the individual specialists made a point of contacting people, both Indian and white, who would give information or express a viewpoint on the given specialty of the interviewer. Most staff members traveled to the homes of Indians and attended tribal council meetings of those tribes having tribal councils (a frankly remarkable effort to obtain Indian viewpoints). The presence of Henry Roe Cloud and his reputation among Indians and white alike helped quite a bit in establishing contact with the Indians.

In carrying out the survey, the staff deliberately compared the conditions and activities they investigated against their ideal standards and their opinions as to what the purposes and goals of the Indian Service should be. This plan of action was carried out as an alternative to their consideration of basing the survey on a comparison of conditions existing then with conditions existing when operations of the Bureau were first begun. Thus, the final Meriam Report was both a survey of existing conditions among Indians of the United States and a series of recommendations for the improvement of those conditions. The staff very explicitly spelled out its attitudes toward what it believed the function and goals of the Bureau to be, and while not mentioning personal names and rarely institutions, the report is devastatingly critical of conditions, Bureau personnel attitudes, and the governmental structure which allowed such attitudes to persist. While conditions are rarely as harsh today as during the time of the survey, the Meriam Report and its recommendations offer remarkable insight. The BIA could still profit by the full implementation of the Report.

The survey staff saw two major considerations underlying their work and the work of the Indian Service. Because these points in great part determined the orientation of the Report and the recommendations given, I will give an extensive quote.

> The object of work with or for the Indians is to fit them either to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization as developed by the whites or to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency. The first of these alternatives is apparently so clear on its face as to require no further explanation. The second, however, demands some further explanation.
>
> Some Indians proud of their race and devoted to their culture and their mode of life have no desire to be as the white man is. They wish to remain Indians, to preserve what they have inherited from their fathers, and insofar as possible to escape from the ever increasing contact with and pressure from the white civilization. In this desire they are supported by intelligent, liberal whites who find real merit in their art, music,

> religion, form of government, and other things which may be covered by the broad term culture. Some of these whites would even go so far, metaphorically speaking, as to enclose these Indians in a glass case to preserve them as museum specimens for future generations to study and enjoy, because of the value of their culture and its picturesqueness in a world rapidly advancing in high organization and mass production. With this view as a whole if not in its extremities, the survey staff has great sympathy. It would not recommend the disastrous attempt to force individual Indians or groups of Indians to be what they do not want to be, to break their pride in themselves and their Indian race, or to deprive them of their Indian culture. Such efforts may break down the good in the old without replacing it with compensating good from the new.
>
> The fact remains, however, that the hands of the clock cannot be turned backward. These Indians are face to face with the predominating civilization of the whites. This advancing tide of white civilization has as a rule largely destroyed the economic foundation upon which the Indian culture rested. This economic foundation cannot be restored as it was. The Indians cannot be set apart away from contacts with the whites. The glass case policy is impracticable...
>
> The position taken, therefore, is that the work with and for the Indians must give consideration to the desires of the individual Indians. He who wishes to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization of this country should be given all practicable aid and advice in making the necessary adjustments. He who wants to remain an Indian and live according to his old culture should be aided in doing so (86-88).

Education was seen as the primary means of implementing the Bureau's work in either preparing Indians for life in the prevailing civilization or for a traditional life-way; every activity of the Indian Service should be directed toward helping the Indian to control and direct his own life.

> The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of that word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least

> in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency (21).

More specifically, the Bureau needed to develop a comprehensive well-rounded program of Indian education which would:

> ...provide for the promotion of health, the advancement of productive efficiency, the acquisition of reasonable ability in the utilization of income and property, guarding against exploitation, and the maintenance of reasonably high standards of family and community life. It must extend to adults as well as to children and must place special emphasis on the family and the community. Since the great majority of the Indians are ultimately to merge into the general population, it should cover the transitional period and should endeavor to instruct Indians in the utilization of the services provided by public and quasi public agencies for the people at large in exercising the privileges of citizenship and in making their contribution in service and in taxes for the maintenance of the government. It should also be directed toward preparing the white communities to receive the Indian. By improving the health of the Indian, increasing his productive efficiency, raising his standard of living, and teaching him the necessity for paying taxes, it will remove the main objections now advanced against permitting Indians to receive the full benefit of services rendered by progressive states and local governments for their populations. By actively seeking cooperation with state and local governments and by making a fair contribution in payment for services rendered by them to untaxed Indians, the national government can expedite the transition and hasten the day when there will no longer be a distinctive Indian problem and when the necessary governmental services are rendered alike to whites and Indians by the same organization without discrimination (21-22).

A program such as this, however, required a basic respect for the "rights of the Indian". The survey staff took great pains to point out that they were not talking just about property rights but "rights as a human being living in a free country" (23); that is, Indians were entitled to courtesy and consideration from Bureau employees, understanding of the Indian point of view, and of great importance, Indian participation in and discussion of those things which related to Indian affairs.

Because this study is mainly concerned with educational policies, I will concentrate on the report and recommendations offered in the Meriam Report section on education. It might be noted that W. Carson Ryan, Jr., the education specialist, later became the Director of Indian Education during the following administration and so one man, at least, was able to implement his beliefs as expressed in the Report.

In Ryan's view, the goals of education were not merely to teach the three R's; reading, writing and arithmetic were merely tools to accomplish the aim of any course of education:

> ...sound health, both mental and physical, good citizenship in the sense of an understanding participation in community life, ability to earn one's own living honestly and efficiently in a socially worthwhile vocation, comfortable and desirable home and family life, and good character. These are the real aims of education; reading, writing, numbers, geography, history, and other "subjects" or skills are only useful to the extent that they contribute directly or indirectly to these fundamental objectives (373).

However, to achieve any of these goals of education required a departure from previous policy.

> The most fundamental need in Indian education is a change in point of view. Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past has proceeded largely on the theory that it is necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural

> setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is, less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings (346).

Weaknesses of Bureau schools fell into five major categories: (1) personnel, (2) wages, (3) facilities, (4) health conditions, and (5) curriculum. Another lesser weakness was that there were few accurate statistical records concerning Indian school children, including records of the number of children that were actually attending school as compared to the number of Indian children of school age. Records kept for less major items, as the number of drop-outs per year or exact attendance records, were considered to be unreliable even if such records were kept at all. Lewis Meriam, being a statistician, particularly felt this lack.

The most immediate and most important need of the Indian Service was for better trained and better paid personnel. Partly because of very poor wages and partly because of low job requirements, Bureau teachers (and other personnel) usually had little training for the positions they held; many had no training whatsoever. Teachers and school superintendents were rarely able to meet the minimum requirements of any of the nation's public school systems, which included the completion of at least two years of courses from a teacher's college in order to teach the elementary grades, and college graduation to teach high school. In fact, many of those who could not teach in the public schools of their home states because of raised standards in those states had gone into the Indian Service. Thus the survey staff felt that:

> ...the national government could do no better single thing for Indian education than to insist upon the completion of an accepted college or university course, including special preparation for teaching, as the minimum entrance requirement for all educational positions in Indian schools or with Indian people (359).

Poorly trained or untrained personnel filled many other Bureau positions. The position of school "matron" and/or "disciplinarian", the person responsible for "the home life of students in Indian boarding schools" (361) listed the following as a minimum requirement:

> Six months training or experience in four of the following: institution child welfare, social service, home nursing or visiting nurse, home management, or general housekeeping, domestic science, general cookery, family sewing, care of children, teaching (362).

In other words, any woman who had had any general home life in any average home was entitled to supervise Indian children for practically their entire childhood. As with the position of teachers, the wages were so low that well-trained supervisory personnel could easily find jobs elsewhere which offered a better salary.

Raising the minimum general education level in the Indian Service was a part of the solution to the personnel problem; another was getting persons with needed specialized education--teaching, nursing, child psychology. A third was acquainting Bureau personnel with the special problems of Indian children before they (the teachers) were sent into the field. Thus:

> Just as modern corporations provide training for their employees because they have found it economic to do so, the government would find it very useful to undertake a brief period of pre-service training to acquaint appointees or prospective appointees with some of the conditions they will find in the Indian Service. Indian schools and Indian educational programs generally need not be as different from those used elsewhere as some people assume, but there are conditions that can and should be made known to teachers and others about to enter the service. This training should include a short time spent at the Indian Office to familiarize the appointee with the general organization and certain of the problems from the central office point of view; probably a short survey of other bureaus of the national government that have any bearing on the education of the Indian; and brief visits to several schools or reservations in different parts of the United States. Too frequently a teacher is deposited at an Indian School with no previous knowledge whatever of Indian life, of the part of the country where the work is located, or of the special conditions that prevail. This pre-service training might well be an integral part of the appointment and probationary service previously suggested (366-67).

The second factor responsible for poorly trained personnel, in addition to low standards, was low salary--competent teachers were far better paid in the public school systems. Both position advancement and wage increases were rare; teachers with many years of work in the Service received little more than beginning teachers. In 1926, the salary paid in the Indian Service for teaching elementary school was $1200, compared with the average salary (compiled by the NEA) of $2000 per year. Unfortunately there were no fringe benefits to make the low salary more acceptable--instead there were likely to be "fringe disadvantages". Indian schools were often quite isolated and difficult to reach, living quarters for Bureau personnel in some areas "represent a survival of primitive rural conditions of 40 years ago" (368)--i.e., gasoline lanterns, no available water, the buildings in disrepair, etc. The report rather snappishly sums up the situation by saying that

> ...it would be difficult to find educational work where the hours are as confining, the amount of free time as nearly nil, the conditions of housing as poor, as in the Indian educational service...unless some care is taken to make living and working conditions worthwhile even better pay will not hold them [teachers] long (368).

In 1926, the predominant means of Indian education was the boarding school, both off-and on-reservation. Previously, the general practice had been to take Indian children, with or without their parents' consent, of six to eight years of age, and place them in boarding schools where they would be away from their parents', and so Indian, influence. The Burke administration, beginning in 1923, favored the elimination of this policy, and in its place, emphasized the placing of Indian children in either government or public day schools, where young children could receive the warmth and attention of a home and family. Unfortunately the implementation of this policy was just getting off the ground, and the boarding school was still the predominant means of schooling for Indian children. Of 69,892 children enrolled in school, 27,631 were enrolled in boarding schools (government, mission, and private). Of the 26,659 children enrolled in government schools, four-fifths (22,099) were enrolled in off-reservation and on-reservation boarding schools; the remaining 4,460 were enrolled in government day schools (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1926:40).

The survey staff also favored the enrollment of children in day schools, preferably public, but government if necessary. Their major premise was that a child needed the stability, affection, and the "relation of natural ties" if he were to develop into a confident mature adult; the institutionalized life of the boarding school with its lack of individual attention could not help but warp the lives of young children. Not only did the day school and its closeness to home and home life benefit the child, but the proximity of the day school made it possible to bring adults into the circle of the school's teachings and to serve as a center for the building of community life. In the other direction, for the benefit of the teacher, the day school made it possible for teachers to more fully understand the life and the problems of Indian children.

Boarding schools had a place, however; the staff felt that boarding schools would have to be the means of educating Indian youth beyond the elementary level, and should be programmed to deal with special problems--orphaned children, physically and mentally handicapped children, or sick children. The staff suggested that schools also be set up to deal with special areas of education in addition to a general high school education--i.e., special schools for agricultural and/or vocational training (as Haskell

Institute).

The staff was aware of the problems involved in effecting such a change from boarding schools to government or public day schools. Problems existing in government boarding schools existed with equal force in government day schools--lack of trained personnel, teachers and others; the poor salary paid to teachers; isolated living conditions for teachers; poorly maintained buildings, etc. The placing of Indian children in public schools presented other problems; at least in the government schools, the Indian Service had the stipulated right to supervise the program and personnel to make sure both were operating in the best interests of Indians (that the Bureau was negligent in this matter did not detract from its ability to do so). Thus in considering public schools, the Report stipulates that:

> It will be necessary to make certain, however: (1) That the step is not taken too hastily in any given situation and as a mere matter of temporary saving of money; (2) that the federal authorities retain sufficient professional direction to make sure the needs of the Indians are met; (3) that the ordinary school facilities are supplemented by health supervision and visiting teacher work--types of aid most needed at present among Indians; (4) that adult education and other community activities are provided (415).

The staff considered that "mingling" was inevitable and that the earlier Indians and whites were introduced to one another, the easier it would be for Indians and whites to interact when they were older. In this case, it was felt that the mere integration of children in the classroom would result in greater understanding and acceptance of one another--the sociology of integration and segregation had been little studied as yet. It was expected that the parents of white children would take greater interest in Indian children if only to protect their own children from disease, and therefore, draw both Indian children and Indian parents into greater community action to upgrade the educational, economic, and health conditions of Indians, thereby involving Indians in community participation and the responsibilities of citizenship.

Since reservation Indians paid no property taxes (by the wordings of most treaties) and were usually too poor to pay school taxes or tuition, the problem of financing Indians in public schools was a problem the staff realized existed but did little more to answer than to suggest that the Federal Government might work out "a plan of equalization by financial aid similar to plans now in operation in most of the states" (417).

School social workers would be needed to aid in problems concerning health and home conditions, and to serve as a liason between the school and the Indian child's family. "To hand over the task of Indian schooling to the public school without providing public health nurse service, family visiting, and some oversight of housing, feeding, and clothing, results unfortunately for the Indian child..." (418). And because of this liason work and the activities of the school, the staff felt that "the Indian home from which the children go daily to the public school tends to change with the children..." (418).

The factor of the large number of children enrolled in boarding schools was by itself disturbing to the survey staff; what disturbed them even more was the poor condition of the majority of the schools they visited. Many of the school buildings had previously been military posts and even after renovation were unsuitable either for classrooms or dormitories. In other instances, buildings were in such a poor state of disrepair that they were unsanitary and unsafe. Often too, school plant equipment was inadequate for the job to be done--outdated and again unsafe. Just as the Indian Service was the department which received abandoned forts after their usefulness to the military had ended, so the Indian Service was the dumping ground for surplus or salvaged equipment of the U.S. Army. What was supposedly economy for the government was a waste of time and effort for the BIA. Thus the Report noted that "Occasionally a school gets something useful, but more often the school authorities find themselves embarassed by having to find some use for such articles as old beds and oversized boots" (442).

The condition of poor facilities in boarding and day schools was intensified by extreme overcrowding and poor management.

> Entirely too many children are already crowded into the non-reservation boarding schools. Many of the schools regularly enroll one-fifth more than their rated capacity, and the "rated capacity" of

> an Indian school is in excess of ordinary standards. Members of the survey staff were repeatedly told at schools with a rated capacity of around 850 that it was the practice to enroll a thousand or more, even if there was no place to put them, so that the average attendance would meet the requirements for securing the necessary Congressional appropriation (404).

This overcrowding intensified unhealthy conditions. Because of lack of space, children with tuberculosis and/or trachoma, both communicable diseases, were not isolated from other children or even treated; sanitary facilities were used by all children and there were rarely attempts made to separate towels or linen of trachomatous children from those articles used by healthy children.

Overcrowding of schools was only one factor which resulted in the poor health of Indian students. Many of the school medical officers were simply incompetent; others felt their job was to treat the sick only and gave no help at all to school officials as to what to do in preventing sickness or eliminating the sources of sicknesses. Dietary standards were appalling; in only three schools were the children not suffering from malnutrition due to lack of quantity in general, and fresh fruits, vegetables and milk in particular. Both the Meriam Report and subsequent hearings revealed the information that Congress had allotted only 11 to 18 cents per child per day for meals, an amount far below the estimated 50 cents per child per day needed for adequate nutrition in state institutions and private boarding schools (327).

The overall goal of education of the Meriam Report staff has been previously indicated. In specific areas of curriculum orientation, the survey team expressed its opinions as to how these educational goals should be reached. As mentioned, the staff felt that the fundamental change should be a change in point of view, from attempting to impose the features of the American way of life on the Indian and condemning everything in Indian heritage as bad, to considering the Indian as an individual and teaching him to be self-supporting, whether he chose to become "white" or to remain "Indian". The old view and the actions that followed, those of taking Indian children from their parents, by force if necessary, and placing them in boarding schools in order to remove all traces of their Indianness was deplored, and in its place, the staff recommended an increased awareness and support for the home and family life of the Indian child.

The Report stated that a second objective of the educational program should be to treat Indian children as individuals and the programs of both individual schools and individual Indians should not be made to conform to some standardized program originating in Washington. Previous administrations had attempted to standardize the curriculum in all Indian schools so that approximately the same subjects would be taught at the same grade level. Due to the wide diversity of conditions and experiences of Indian groups and individuals, the staff felt that this attempt was "worse than futile". Over-routinization to the point of conducting a school as a military camp was another aspect of the ignoring of individual differences and individual personalities. At one school, children were forbidden to laugh or talk at mealtimes, and similar practices in other schools caused the staff to deplore any such attempts to regulate children into machines. Over-regulation took the place of creative teaching or attempts to reach Indian children as human beings.

> The impression a visitor almost inevitably gets upon entering the classroom of an Indian school is that here is a survival of methods and schoolroom organization belonging in the main to a former period. The nailed-down desks, in rows; the old-type "recitation"; the unnatural formality between teacher and pupil, the use of mechanistic words and devices, as "class rise!", "class pass!"; the lack of enriching materials, such as reading books and out-of-doors material, all suggest a type of school-keeping that still exists, of course, but has been greatly modified in most modern school systems, if not abandoned altogether, as the result of what has been made known in the past twenty-five years about learning and behavior (378-79).
>
> Nearly every boarding school visited furnished disquieting illustrations of failure to understand the underlying principles of human behavior. Punishments of the most harmful sort are bestowed in sheer ignorance, often in a sincere attempt to be of help. Routinization is the one method used for everything; though all that we know indicates its weakness as a method in education. If there were any real knowledge of how human beings are developed through their behavior we should not have in the Indian boarding schools the mass movements from dormitory to dining room, from dining room to classroom, from classroom back again, all completely controlled by external authority; we should hardly have children from the smallest to the largest of both sexes lined up in a military formation; and we would certainly find a better way of handling boys and girls than to lock the door to the fire-escape of the girls' dormitory (381-82).

A great deal of space in the Indian Service Manual had been devoted to praising the importance of vocational training, but in actual practice, vocational education was either poor or ignored altogether. The organization of the school curriculum had been to divide the day into two parts, a half-day for academic instruction and a half-day of work for the institution, often going under the name of "vocational education". The survey staff members were quite harsh in their criticism of this practice, not so much because of the principle that the children should work in and for the institution, but because the children were unfit to do such work. The survey staff pointed out that the children were far too young (in a great majority of instances, children were under 12 years of age) to do the heavy institutional work required of them, and, in addition, these children were malnourished. Thus the staff noted that at almost every boarding school, children under 12 were spending four hours or so a day in dairying, kitchen work, and the laundry. Since the work bore little relation to either the home life of the child or to industrial work, the system was considered in no way to be education and it was "admittedly unsatisfactory even from the point of view of getting the work done" (375).

The system persisted, however, out of economic necessity.

> At present the half-day plan is felt to be necessary, not because it can be defended on health or educational grounds, for it cannot, but because the small amount of money allowed for food and clothes makes it necessary to use child labor. The official Course of Study for Indian Schools says frankly:
>
> > "In our Indian schools a large amount of productive work is necessary. They could not possibly be maintained on the amounts appropriated by Congress for their support were it not for the fact that students (i.e., children) are required to do the washing, ironing, baking, cooking, sewing; to care for the dairy, farm, garden, grounds, buildings, etc.--an amount of labor that has in

> the aggregate a very appreciable monetary value."
>
> The term "child labor" is used advisedly. The labor of children as carried on in Indian boarding schools would, it is believed, constitute a violation of child labor laws in most states (376).

To replace this half and half system, the staff felt that children in the first to sixth grades should be placed in school for the full school day, followed by a

> ...semi-industrial junior or middle school period of approximately three years with plenty of industrial choices and specific vocational training for chronologically older boys. This in turn should be followed by three years of senior high school work, specifically vocational for some students, sufficiently general in case of others, to leave the way clear for further education in colleges and universities for students who show that they could profit by it (376).

Vocational training should include instruction in agricultural training, and this should be taught, not in terms of feeding the school, as was currently done, but in actually training the children to raise and care for dairy herds, horses, beef cattle, or poultry, to breed stock selectively, and to carry on such activities with the resources available to the Indians of a given region. Farm training with the same goals in mind should be taught, to replace the present system in which children were used simply as unpaid farm hands and received little or no training in the actual decisions and experiences important in learning to make a living by farming.

Industrial vocational training was in much the same situation as that of agricultural training. Children were used as workers in jobs that offered no value whatever to the child, and which, in many cases, the child was physically unfit to do. Some of the courses of vocational training were out-dated or unrealistic--harness-making in the first instance, and shoe repair in the second (how many shoe repairmen did a single reservation need?). The actual needs of industry and/or the reservations were not fully ascertained; one of the preliminary steps to a vocational program called for by the survey was an industrial survey "to determine what the occupations were for which training could most profitably be given" (383).

Unfortunately, here as in other aspects of the teaching field, obtaining trained personnel to teach vocational education was difficult because of the low salary and the low qualifications for the job.

As part of the reorientation of the educational attitudes of the Indian Service, the Meriam survey staff called for the recognition and implementation of community participation and adult education--and both of these ideas were a far cry from the policy of "help stamp out Indians" by taking away their children. "No matter how much may be done in schools, or how much the educational program may center about the school, as it very well may, a genuine educational program will have to comprise the adults of the community as well as the children" (349). To eliminate illiteracy should be a prime goal, but in addition to and beyond this, the purpose of adult education was to encourage the development of and participation in an improved home and community life.

Field workers (field matrons, visiting nurses, and agricultural agents) were needed to demonstrate and aid in programs to improve health care, home management, and farm techniques, while "community organization of social life for Indians, based on the principle of participation by Indians themselves was also a real need" (400). As a correlate, the staff repeatedly pointed out that if the government ever expected Indians to become self-sufficient, then it was going to have to step aside to allow Indians to take responsibility, including responsibility enough to make mistakes.

The discussion of the Meriam Report has been lengthy because I feel that the Report lays the foundation for the rest of this work, both chronologically and in terms of the problems raised; it was the first clear and detailed study of the Indian Service and it did not hesitate to discuss the Service's weaknesses and deficiencies. The Report was notable for its completeness and its ability to place the wealth of detail into an interlocking whole which covered the scope of Indian life and the BIA. Even more important, the Report clearly expressed what it felt the goals of the Indian Service should be and it formulated clear recommendations as to how to obtain those goals.

It is a tribute to the survey staff that the Report was produced with little attempt at sensationalism, and that a tone of cool deliberateness and consideration prevails throughout the book. Yet the generalized account results in an appalling account of conditions in the Indian Service.

It is somewhat upsetting to realize that many of the major problems the Meriam Report discussed in 1928 are still major problems, and that many of the recommendations of the survey team have just recently been attempted or have yet to be implemented. Almost 40 years before the War on Poverty, the Meriam Report suggested activities carried out by the OEO, and in reading the document, one is amazed (or appalled) by the timeliness of the observations and the impression of sociological sophistication.

The Rhoads-Scattergood Administration

The reception of the Meriam Report was favorable among those groups who influenced Indian affairs. The Indian Rights Association, a Philadelphia-based organization dedicated to "non partisan work for Indian civilization and citizenship" commented in its monthly publication that:

> In reading "The Problem of Indian Administration" anyone who has followed Indian affairs for many years cannot help being impressed with the survey made by the Institute for Government Research--with its thoroughness, its sound conclusions as to fundamentals and its sensible recommendations. The work was done by men and women who are leaders in their respective fields of activity; their time may have seemed limited, but it is little short of marvelous what they were able to do...In the belief that the best is the cheapest, the report sets up as a standard for the Indian Service the highest ideals obtainable--and they are not beyond the range of possibility, if Congress will provide the necessary funds. If anything is wanted as a basis for a constructive and efficient reorganization of the Indian Service and putting it on a modern scale, the report supplies it (July 1928:2).

And in December, 1928, the Association adopted a resolution recommending that The Problem of Indian Administration constituted a basis "upon which to proceed constructively to secure the early reorganization of the Indian Service, and the adequate support of a modernized agency devoted to the human welfare of the American Indians" (Indian Truth: 1). In so accepting the Report, the Indian Rights Association also accepted the educational orientation that the Meriam survey team considered important and the program for educational improvement proposed by the Report.

The Board of Indian Commissioners was requested by Secretary of the Interior Work to prepare an analysis of the Report "for the use of the Department of the Interior" (1928:15). The analysis itself consisted of a 22-page long document; in their annual report, the Board stated:

> The report of the institute's survey is a volume of 872 pages and is one of the most important documents concerning our Indian people ever published...The high character and reputation for honesty and disinterestedness in research of each member of the American Indian Survey staff give weight to their fact findings and compel respectful consideration of their conclusions and recommendations...We sincerely hope that every Senator and Representative in Congress will read The Problem of Indian Administration, for Congress alone can make the appropriations and confer the authority of law which are essential requisites to the kind of policies and administration necessary to advance the Indian Service toward the ideal proposed in the Survey's report (Board of Indian Commissioners 1928:16).

The publication of the Meriam Report brought several responses aimed at improving conditions in the Indian Service. The major improvement was that of increasing appropriations for the Service, though the amount was still far below a reasonable minimum which would accomplish all that Congress expected the Indian Service to accomplish. Thus the January issue of Indian Truth informed its readers that:

> There is an increase of over $3,500,000 beyond the amount appropriated in the current year, ending June 30, 1929. The friends of the Indian did what they could to supplement the request of the Interior Department for a more liberal recognition of the needs of the Indian Service, and while this increase is gratifying, it is approximately $5,500,000 below the amount that is required (1929:1).

Salaries and compensation scales for the fiscal year of 1929 were increased by the Welch Act of May 29, 1928. In March of 1929, the law which limited the expenditures to support children in boarding schools to $300 per pupil per school year in schools having an attendance of less than 200, and $270 per pupil per school year in schools having an attendance of 200 or more was repealed, though appropriations per boarding school child had never reached the law's limits and rarely exceeded $225 per child (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1928:57-58).

In addition to appropriation increases, as recommended by the Report, educational leave time for teachers and physicians was changed from 30 days a year to 60 days every alternate year and attempts were made to acquire more instructors per capita for the larger boarding schools.

"With all the sound and fury accompanying Indian administration during the 1920's, it was inevitable that there be a congressional investigation" (Tyler 1964:10). In 1928, Senator King of Utah introduced Senate Resolution 79, to "survey the conditions of Indians in the United States". The resolution passed with an accompanying appropriation of $30,000 for expenses, and for 15 years, until 1943, the subcommittee investigated. The final report (with a supplementary report issued May 2, 1944) consisted of 41 volumes and 23,069 printed pages, a rather remarkable accomplishment even for Congress.

Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work resigned his position in the late spring of 1928, and in the following year, after the election of Herbert Hoover as President, Commissioner Burke also resigned. Hoover appointed Ray Wilbur as

Secretary of the Interior, Charles Rhoads as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and J. Henry Scattergood as Assistant Commissioner; the latter two took office on July 1, 1929.

The appointment of Rhoads and Scattergood was hailed as evidence of Hoover's intent to "put the Indian Service on a plane that will command the respect and confidence of the Indians and the people of the United States" (Indian Truth: 1929:1). Both men were Quakers and in contrast to the majority of previous BIA appointments, neither of these men were considered political appointees, but men selected upon the basis of their knowledge of and their work with Indian affairs in the past. Charles Rhoads was, by profession, a banker and a partner in a Philadelphia banking concern. He had served on several boards devoted to reconstruction work in France after World War I, and had been treasurer of the Indian Rights Association for 28 years and president of that group in the year and a half preceding his appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

J. Henry Scattergood had a background similar to that of Rhoads. A businessman, he was then treasurer of Haverford College and Bryn Mawr, and had worked, as had Rhoads, with the Friends Service units and the Red Cross in Post-War France.

The initial work of the Rhoads-Scattergood administration was that of reorganizing the Indian Service internally with the resources (or lack of them) at hand, without any directives from Congress. The Commissioner began a study of conditions and problems relating to education, health, employment, and welfare; a series of conferences were held both in Washington and on various reservations to bring together

> ...for consultation and planning officials of the Indian Office and of the field service, experts and specialists connected with the Office of Education, the Agricultural Department, the Labor Department, the Civil Service Commission, State and County organizations, and some non-governmental associations (Board of Indian Commissioners 1930:2).

The results of these study trips and conferences were not spectacular or even overly exciting, but they were important as first steps to making an effective service out of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Actual reorganization of the Bureau became effective March 9, 1931, but the groundwork had been laid out in the year and a half preceeding that date. Several new positions, both in the field and in Washington, were created to bring professional advice into the Service and to direct specific areas of the Indian program. A personnel officer, a vocational guidance and placement officer, a director of agriculture and several educational officers were appointed for work in Washington in 1929-30; the latter included an assistant director of education "with special preparation and experience in educational administration and vocational guidance", two supervisors in home economics, and supervisors of elementary and secondary education. Five field agents, or demonstration agents in elementary education, were also appointed; their task was to supervise the approximately 55 elementary teachers in sections of the country having the densest Indian population--South Dakota, northern and southern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and Oklahoma. And late in 1930, the first Director of Education was appointed--Dr. W. Carson Ryan, professor of education at Swarthmore College and the education specialist on the Meriam survey team.

Sixteen departments and divisions were established, with the "emphasized idea of the reorganization" (Board of Indian Commissioners 1931:1), being centralized control and decentralized operation. In general outline, the reorganization was described by the Board:

> The several divisions of the commissioner's office naturally fall into two groups: Those which deal almost altogether with field activities and those whose functions primarily are confined to office administration. The field departments are health, education, agricultural extension and industry, forestry, and irrigation. The office group includes the chief clerk, the general counsel, probate, finance, land, accounting, purchase, and construction. The old inspection service is now called field supervision. The old administration division was abolished.
>
> The field departments are divided into two groups to facilitate coordination and to emphasize the purpose of separating the activities which deal with the Indian as a person and those which deal with his property. The departments of health, education, and agricultural extension and industry comprise the personal-relations group and forestry and irrigation the property group. Two new positions have been created, assistants to the commissioner. One coordinates the departments in the personal-relations group. He also is the personnel officer of the service and has general charge of field supervision, the details of which are handled by a junior assistant to the commissioner. The other assistant to the commissioner will coordinate the departments of forestry, irrigation, and land.
>
> The chief clerk has charge of the office personnel, files, statistics, library, and other office matters. He also will relieve the commissioner of much administrative routine. The chief counsel is the law of-

> ficer of the service and exercises supervision over probate affairs. The chief finance officer is the budget officer of the service and, as such, exercises a certain supervision over the accounting and bookkeeping division, the purchase division, and construction (1-2).

Standards and salaries for Indian Service personnel were substantially raised. The position of girls' advisor required at least three years of college, that of matron required at least a high school education, while standards for teachers were well above minimum standards of most states, though not those of large cities.

> The minimum qualifications for principals include "graduation with a degree from a normal school, teachers college, college or university of recognized standing, with 18 semester hours in the school of education" with a minimum of two years' successful experience. For senior high school teachers the new requirements comprise graduation from a 4-year course in a recognized college or university, with 16 units in education, the latter to include 12 units in psychology, principles of education, and methods of teaching. Junior high school teachers are required to have at least three years and elementary teachers two years beyond the high school (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1930:8-9).

Provisions were made to allow those teachers and other personnel who did not meet the new standards to obtain the additional educational requirements necessary. In-service training by the new demonstration teachers and others was directed toward up-grading the "older" personnel, and the program of educational leave for teachers was utilized as employees sought advanced educational studies.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Rhoads-Scattergood administration was the development of a planned educational program, and the Board of Indian Commissioners comments approvingly in its annual report that:

> Practical and vocational education to fit the Indian student for self-support on the farm, in the factory and office, as a teacher, clerk, etc., is now stressed as a fundamental requirement in the Indian school work. The course of study in all the schools is under adjustment and expansion so as to place the emphasis on practical and vocational training (1930:3).

This emphasis on vocational training was a major aspect of the program developed by W. Carson Ryan. In the Meriam survey, it was quite plain that Ryan felt that the goal of education was to prepare Indians--or any people--to be self-sustaining, and agricultural, industrial, or academic training were special types of education for life. To this end, a division of agriculture and industry was set up within the reorganization scheme and within this division, a program was started to find for adult Indians some sort of permanent work, and for students, seasonal work both on and off the reservation. A placement center was established in Minneapolis and studies were made to locate other centers in other cities near Indian reservations to assist Indians in finding work within these cities. By 1931, however, because of the deepening depression and increasing unemployment, plans for these later placement centers never got beyond the planning stage.

Without doubt, increased appropriations through 1932 were responsible for many of the gains made by the Indian Service. In 1930, Congress appropriated more than $21,500,000 for the Indian Bureau, an increase of $5,000,000 over the previous year and the most money ever allotted to the Service. The appropriations for education alone had doubled since 1921, and money for the medical service had increased nearly 800% since 1921. In 1932, appropriations were again increased, this time to a record total of $28,418,888. Unfortunately, 1933 saw rather drastic cuts in the funds for the Indian Bureau, as for many other operations in the Federal Government, and many of the incipient programs of the Bureau never really even began to be put into operation. In that year, appropriations were reduced by $5,000,000 from the previous year. Cuts in the education budget, reduced from $9,771,000 in 1933 to $9,102,230 for 1934, caused several of the schools to operate with a reduced number of personnel, and in some instances resulted in their closing. At the same time, five new three-room schools were built on the Navajo reservation.

Because of initial increased appropriations, it was no longer necessary for the Bureau to require children to do the heavy, tedious labor once required to keep the schools in operation. In many instances, additional personnel were hired to do the "institutional labor"; in other cases, different practices altogether resulted in the releasing of children from work. For example, the simple expediency of buying school uniforms instead of having girls make them resulted in the freeing of time for these girls to study, to play, or even do sewing for themselves.

There were other achievements. Corporal punishment was forbidden by Commissioner Rhoads; though many schools still used corporal punishment in the form of whippings, jailing, etc., to discipline students, it was not condoned by the Washington office after 1929.

The trend toward the enrollment of Indian children in public and government day schools was intensified; so also was the trend toward having states assume the responsibility of educating Indian children within their borders. In a memorandum to the House Committee on Indian Affairs, the Indian Office made its position clear.

> Furnish to the State education authorities the most recent accurate data available as to the location of Indian children of school age in their States;
>
> Wherever State and local communities are willing and able to take over the schooling of Indian children, give them every possible encouragement and help;
>
> Study carefully each existing boarding school situation to determine whether the school is one that should be closed soon, continued for some other purpose, or maintained indefinitely;
>
> Put existing Indian schools into a position where they constitute a real part of the educational program of the State using State courses of study wherever possible as a basis and meeting State requirements in so far as these are consistent with an education planned to meet the needs of Indian children.
>
> Making better tuition arrangements--using tuition payments in particular as a means of getting a better quality of education for both whites and Indians; better qualified teachers, health follow-up, hot lunch, visiting teacher (school social worker) to work between the school and home;
>
> Develop a more modern type of supervision; (a) supervisors from the Indian Office who seek to help the people in the field, rather than merely to inspect; these supervisors to visit public and private schools where Indian children are, as well as Government schools; (b) in States where numbers warrant, a State supervisor of Indian education as part of the staff of the department of public instruction, working directly under the State superintendent or commissioner of education (Board of Indian Commissioners 1931:11).

The Rhoads-Scattergood administration was quite cautious about actually placing children in public schools without a great deal of consideration of the local climate. In 1930, the Commissioner's Report states that:

> The rapidity with which we can carry out our policy of eliminating young children from the boarding schools depends, of course, upon a number of factors. Some of the educational factors involved have to do with home conditions, remoteness from public-school facilities, ascertained need for institutional care, possibilities of health follow-up, and social case work not ordinarily available in the small rural communities in which so many Indian children live. Other factors that must be considered are the attitude of white parents toward the Indian children. If the policy of the Government to increase public-school provision for the Indian school population is to be carried out, obviously local communities will have to be considerate and take an unselfish view of proposals to abandon Indian boarding schools (10).

Yet despite this caution, the number of Indian children in public schools rose rapidly and by the 1931-32 school year, 48,000 Indian children were enrolled in public schools, a gain of 10,000 from the 1929-30 school year. Indian children who lived on a reservation but who attended local public schools had tuition paid for them by the Federal Government; contracts were drawn up each year between the school district and the Federal Government according to the amount of money appropriated by Congress.

Curriculum changes were initiated to incorporate Indian-oriented material into the school courses--that is, to encourage Indian children to write and speak about their customs, legends, and social life. The actual Indianness of the life of the Indian child was no longer to be ignored, at least at the Washington level. The idea that children be taught by a uniform, federally developed plan had been abandoned during the Burke administration; under Dr. Ryan, it was suggested that Indian schools use the state course of study for the schools in a given state, but that these were merely to serve as guides "which are by no means to be slavishly followed".

It was felt that boarding schools for children in the elementary grades should be either abandoned or converted to day schools in as many instances as possible, keeping them only in operation in special cases, i.e., in conjunction with institutions treating specific types of disease, in providing for orphans, neglected children, or children of broken homes, or for children in areas where day schools would be impractical. During 1929-30, many boarding schools, both on and off the reservations, began the process of raising their grade levels through the 12th grade, and dropping, a year at a time, the elementary grades. These high schools then began to focus on vocational education for older children. Thus while the number of boarding schools did not drop significantly, there was a shift of emphasis in the purpose of the boarding schools and those children who were considered to be most adversely affected by boarding school conditions were no longer to attend them. In 1930, six of the 20 larger non-reservation boarding schools had adopted this system; by 1932, two more had eliminated the lower grades, and among the remaining schools, plans were being developed which would reduce the number of children attending them.

Reactions concerning the new program of Indian education were generally favorable, but criticism was not stifled by any means. The Board of Indian Commissioners found one particular aspect of Carson Ryan's program unsettling--the raising of standards for the teaching and administrative staff of the schools. It is perhaps more fair to the Board to say that their position was not against the raising of standards as much as they objected to the raising of qualifications so high. As mentioned before, requirements for superintendents of schools and for teaching in schools exceeded the minimum requirements of states. Thus the requirements for superintendent, a teacher in senior high, and a boy's advisor were as follows:

> Superintendent, $4,600 a year.--Applicants must have been graduated from a college or university of recognized standing, supplemented by two years of graduate work, at least one year of which must have been in the field of educational administration (other than research work); and, in addition, at least four years of experience in the field of education, three years of which must have been in the administration of a public or private secondary school or school system, or in a State or other institution having educational work.
>
> Teacher, senior high school, $1,860 a year. --Applicants must meet the requirements specified in one of the following groups:
> (a) Graduation from a four years' course in a standard teachers' college and eight months of paid-teaching experience.
> (b) Graduation from a four years' course in a college or university of recognized standing, which course included or was supplemented by 16 semester-hour credits in education and 8 months of paid-teaching experience: Provided, That an additional 8 months of paid-teaching experience may be substituted for 10 of the required 16 semester-hour credits in education.
>
> Boys' adviser, senior high school, $2,600 a

TABLE I

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Total number (6 to 18)	81,620	86,275	90,908	94,612	97,534
Total enrollment (-6, +18)	1,886	1,726	1,488		2,864
Total enrolled	66,958	67,587	68,220	77,905	83,410
Not in school	11,419	15,675	12,802		
Total Government (enrolled)	25,174	26,111	25,989	25,420	27,006
Non Reservation board	9,777	9,639	9,621	10,221	10.331
Reservation board	10,584	10,023	10,571	9.753	9,905
Other reservation board	672	1,971	1,592	1,078	1,520
Day	4,141	7,478	4,205	4,364	5,250
Mission board	7,547	7,121	7,147	7,271	6,292
Mission day	74	67	309	652	1,278
Public	34,163	34,288	34,775	43,562	48,834
Number of Schools					
Nonreservation, boarding		19	19	21	29
Reservation, boarding		55	54	51	42
Sanitorium, boarding		6	13		
Day		131	129	133	124
Total		211	215	205	195
Mission, private, or state					
Contract, Boarding		20	22	21	22
Noncontract, Boarding		27	28	37	39
Noncontract, day		22	21	31	37
Total		69	71	89	97
Total in all schools		280	286	294	293

> year; reservation and junior high school, $2,000 a year.--For boys' adviser, either senior or junior high school, except for the substitution provided below, applicants must have been graduated from a standard college or university of recognized standing, which included or was supplemented by a course in any three of the following subjects: Psychology, mental hygiene, physical education, vocational and educational guidance, institutional or school administration, methods and theory of teaching, economics, sociology, also social case work.
>
> Substitution: Applicants who lack graduation from a 4-year college course may substitute for two years, and only two years, of the required college work two years of successful professional experience, in any of the following kinds of work: Directing boys' camps, Boy Scout work, boys' activities in Y.M.C.A. work, or in a similar well-organized club or educational institution.
>
> In addition to meeting the above requirement, applicants for boys' adviser, senior high school, must have had at least two years of successful professional experience in any of the following kinds of work: Directing Boy Scouts, boys' camps, boys in an institution other than correctional, teaching in high school, educational administration, adviser in high school or college, or any combination of the required experience totaling two years; and applicants for boys' adviser, reservation or junior high school, must have had at least one year of such experience (Board of Indian Commissioners 1931:13).

The Board felt these requirements were too high for two major reasons: that morale in the Service would be lowered due to new people without previous experience with Indians advancing or being appointed to higher positions which older personnel were not academically qualified to hold, and that the requirements ignored the "non-academic" qualifications of those people currently in the Service, some of whom had served for 15 or so years.

The objections were interesting and valid ones. In the first instance, reports by the Board and by members of the Indian Rights Association suggested that the personnel in the field were quite upset and apprehensive about the new job requirements; rumors suggested that personnel, including reservation superintendents, were being demoted and dismissed right and left, and although not true, both the Board and the Indian Rights Association reported a great deal of uncertainty among employees regarding their futures.

The second objection--i.e., experience vs. academic qualifications--is still a debatable problem in fitting the person to the job. The Board felt quite strongly that new openings, whether in newly created positions or in old positions recently vacated, should be filled by experienced employees first, with new, academically qualified persons being a second choice. Thus the Board states:

> We are in hearty sympathy with the efforts that have been made to raise the standards of the Indian school, but our observations have led us to believe that in making appointments too much emphasis has been placed upon academic qualifications rather than upon character, common sense, and practical experience in dealing with Indians. We disapprove the practice of appointing new, untried, and inexperienced persons to key positions instead of promoting those who have already demonstrated their efficiency by good service in less important posts. That principle of promotion is an elementary and basic feature of all good administration. To deny recognition and promotion, or the expectation of it, to those who have worked up through the service by merit and demonstrated efficiency, and to appoint instead persons with no knowledge of Indian history and temperament and the elementary principles of the Federal administration of Indian affairs is a mistake for which one finds little justification. We believe it is possible to give more recognition to those who have acquired valuable experience in the service without in any way excluding the wealth of ability and training that is now available outside of the Indian Service (1932:9).

In particular, the Board was disturbed with the effects of the new regulations on Indian employees. The Meriam Report, in recommending higher qualifications for the Bureau, had stated that if Indians could not fill the requirements of the position, particularly in teaching, they should not be hired simply because they were Indians. Carson Ryan accepted this position, and as with other aspects of hiring qualifications, it disturbed the Board deeply. A letter from the chairman of the Board to the Commissioner in May, 1931, expressed the situation as the Board viewed it.

> The United States Board of Indian Commissioners at its meeting, May 13, discussed the effects upon the progress and welfare of the Indians of the enforcement of the rules now governing appointments in the Indian Service. From the testimony laid before the board it appeared that the present standard for entrance qualifications for teachers in the Indian Service are set so high in an academic sense that a considerable number of the older employees are at a disadvantage when promotions are under consideration.
>
> It further appeared that the qualifications now required prevent the entrance into the service of graduates of our own Indian schools, even those who have taken in good faith the normal course at Haskell Institute. It further appeared that Indians who have served efficiently in the schools for many years cannot qualify for promotion because of their lack of the academic requirements.
>
> The board submits that strict adherence to those academic standards will often work an injustice toward faithful and competent Indian employees and will discourage young and promising Indians from preparing themselves for Government service.
>
> The board believes that in closing the door of opportunity to graduates of Indian schools the Indian Office is departing from its declared policy of developing Indian leadership. It further believes that employees and teachers of Indian birth, though they may not have had a college education, may prove to be better teachers in Indian schools than white teachers who have had a college education

> but no contact with the Indian race. The board further suggests the inconsistency of opening placement offices to secure employment for Indians, while, at the same time, denying opportunity of employment in the Indian Service itself (1931:14).

Unfortunately, in reading the Board of Indian Commissioners reports dealing with the raising of standards, one almost gets the feeling that the Board was more concerned with the status of the Bureau toward its employees rather than the status of the Bureau toward the Indians. While experience in the field can be quite valuable in any given position, experience with Indians alone did not give any person the knowledge or ability to deal with Indians and their problems to the Indians' benefit. Without the proper training to channel experience effectively many people accomplish little despite years of being in the field; moreover, experienced persons can actually hinder the development of Indian programs through their dislike of Indians or their refusal to try new approaches to a problem (in other words "experience" may be a euphemism for "in a rut"). The Board's arguments become even more difficult to accept when the Bureau proposed programs to give experienced employees the training necessary to qualify them for better positions and higher pay. One begins to suspect sheer inertia was behind many employees' complaints.

Another aspect of the personnel problem was that raised by the retirement act of May, 1930, in which the retirement age for the entire civil service of the Federal Government was reduced from 70 to 65. This immediately resulted in the "removal" of 80 employees, and during the fiscal year 1930-31, affected 12 superintendents of reservations. The Board recommended that replacements be found in "seasoned, experienced (10 to 15 years service in the BIA) employees"; instead, the Bureau appointed men who had been in the Service a much shorter time. Thus:

> Two reservation superintendents and one school superintendent were brought in through the civil service. The other vacancies were filled from the field, but in some cases employees who had been in the service but a few years were promoted to superintendents (Board of Indian Commissioners 1931:15).

The retirement act provided for the extension of the service of worthy employees; the Board felt that this provision should have been utilized for those employees over 65.

> We feel that it would have been better for the service if this permissive authority had been exercised. The employees affected by the law had been arranging their affairs with the knowledge that they would retire from the service when they arrived at the age of 70 years. The abruptness with which the new retiring provisions were put into effect has been tragical in a number of instances, for no time was given to these people for the readjustment of their affairs.
>
> We still hold to the opinion that the best interests of the service and of the Indians would have been served had advantage been taken of the provision in the act authorizing heads of departments to continue the services of employees who had reached the retiring age. Not only has the service unnecessarily lost the valuable experience and seasoned constructive talent of a number of faithful, conscientious employees, but there has developed the feeling in the field that loyalty and experience are not regarded as service assets and desirable qualifications by the Indian Office in appraising the records of the field-service personnel (1931:16).

The second major target of criticism was "increased appropriations for Indian Affairs which had been enticed out of

Congress in a period of growing national depression" (Fey and McNickle 1959:60). The Senator from Utah, William H. King, in a speech presented during the Senate considerations on appropriations for the Department of the Interior, attacked the Bureau of Indian Affairs at length and with a great deal of vigor. Senator King had been chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs; by this time the Committee's investigating team had begun to accumulate a great deal of data on the Bureau's administration of Indian affairs over the years since the Dawes Act and little of it reflected to the credit of the Bureau. King's attacks centered around three aspects of Bureau administration: The increased number of Bureau employees, the amount of money paid to these employees, and Bureau mismanagement of tribal trust funds and tribal lands as illustrated by irrigation projects and allotment policies. For good measure he threw in an attack on the boarding school system.

Much of King's attack can only be characterized as a political speech for the folks at home; while the examples of inefficiency, mismanagement and outright fraud he cited were accurate, he neglected to point out that such occurences were not characteristic of the Rhoads-Scattergood administration but had occurred ten to twenty years previously. Where the Meriam Report suggested better trained and better paid personnel, and more specialists to carry out given programs, King proposed a reduction of employees and objected to the higher salaries.

> I believe that Congress has intended during the past few years to reduce the extravagant expenditures of the Indian Bureau, but the fact is that its expenses have doubled during the preceding seven fiscal years, and this enormous increase has been incurred largely in paying higher salaries and the compensation of an increased number of employees. These expenditures, exclusive of payments to the Indians from their own funds, in the fiscal year 1926 were $13,991,470. But in 1932 the expenditures amounted to more than $27,000,000 in addition to per capita disbursed by the bureau from tribal funds and from indefinite appropriations (1933:31).

Senator King's attack on the Rhoads-Scattergood administration included a thorough denunciation of the boarding school system. Boarding schools were more expensive to run than day schools, both in terms of personnel and physical plant, and were detrimental to the welfare of Indian children because they removed the child from his home and family. King stated that the Indian Bureau, however, was

> ...resolutely opposed to the abolition of the boarding schools. I should say, however, that it has indicated that there should be a gradual increase in the number of day schools, which would mean a diminuation in the number of boarding schools. However, when I attempted a year ago to have incorporated in the appropriation bill appropriations for more day schools and less boarding schools, fierce opposition was encountered at the hands of the bureau. However, with the support of Doctor Ryan progress was made, and $500,000, as I have stated, which was to be devoted to boarding schools, was transferred to the day-school category.
>
> Mr. Brookhart. Does the Senator expect to offer an amendment to this bill to increase the number of day schools?
>
> Mr. King. I have an amendment to propose reducing the appropriation for boarding schools $1,000,000 and applying $500,000 of the same to the establishment of day schools. $500,000 used for day schools will care for more children with better results than $1,000,000 expended in boarding schools (19-20).

TABLE II

Indian Bureau boarding school and day school costs, with salary totals, per capita costs, and salary expenditure occasioned by each child in school.

Boarding schools; estimate for the fiscal year 1934 (the Budget for 1934):

Total of children (corrected estimate	20,422
Total cost	$ 7,059,000
Cost per child per year	$ 346
Total salaries and wages (after deducting legislative and administrative furloughs	$ 3,870,909
Salary expenditure occasioned by each child	$ 189
Number of regular employees	2,761
Number of irregular employees (on a whole-time basis at $1,000 a year)	225
Total of employees	2,986
Ratio of Government employees to children.	1 to 6.9

Indian Bureau day schools (fiscal year 1933: data furnished by the Division of Education of the Indian Bureau):

Total of children	5,960
Total cost (approximate)	$ 739,000
Per capita cost (approximate)	$ 124
Total of salaries and wages	$ 459,940
Salary expenditure occasioned by each child	$ 77
Number of teachers	242
Number of housekeepers	113
Total of employees	355
Ratio of Government employees to children.	1 to 16.8

(30-31)

Senator King's belief was that, with the money saved by the operation of day schools in place of boarding schools, more children could be placed in schools, and he illustrated his point with several tables.

What he did not consider is the question of what was to be done with many of the 20,422 children attending boarding schools while day schools were being constructed. With appropriations for boarding schools cut, either fewer children would be able to attend school at all in the interim or the boarding schools would become more over-crowded and the children under-fed and under-clothed. A second question is that involved in the cost of construction of new schools, not merely the use of old ones--the construction costs of new schools added into the expenditure per child and expenditure per school. In other words, was it more expensive to build new schools (at a lower operating cost after construction) or to continue to use older schools (even though the operating costs were higher).

Considering, however, that the majority of Indian children never attended any school, the question was perhaps academic--any school could be filled easily, whether boarding or day. Curiously, Senator King did not seriously consider the number of children out of school, at least as indicated by his statement concerning the diminuation of boarding schools and the corresponding increase in day schools, and the terms of the appropriations bill. Seats for at least 17,000 children were needed; diminishing any schools or school appropriations, while "economic" was a move to be

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fought by the Bureau.

In reviewing the goals of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the keynote of the Rhoads-Scattergood administration had been announced by Secretary of the Interior Wilbur. "The fundamental aim of the Bureau of Indian Affairs shall be to make of the Indian a self-sustaining, self-respecting American citizen as rapidly as this can be brought about" (Board of Indian Commissioners 1930:1).

That the Indian as an Indian could already be self-respecting apparently did not occur to Mr. Wilbur. While Rhoads and Scattergood shared this goal, they were perhaps more aware of the problems involved and more sympathetic toward the cultural traditions of Indian groups.

The Board of Indian Commissioners, in its 60th Annual Report (1929) reviewed the past and present aims of the Service; their summary in regard to the purposes of education closely parallel those of Secretary Wilbur.

> The principal reason for the existence of the Government's Indian schools is to prepare the Indian children to mingle with white people, as eventually they must do, and to be able to take care of themselves. The great bulk of the Indian boys and girls in school today will not go beyond the high school grades, and the majority of them will not complete those higher grades. A few, comparatively speaking, will stand out as promising candidates for colleges and universities, and efforts should be made to provide opportunities for such students to secure a higher education.
>
> Where Indian children are fitted to profit by the public schools they should attend them, as half of them do now. To say that children, merely because they happen to be Indians, should be provided by the Government with special schools is not a valid excuse for Indian Service schools. But where the stage of development or the environment of the In-

> dian child make a public school undesirable, then the special Indian school has its task.
>
> This task is to provide the needed development and supply the lacks caused by a faulty environment, so that the Indian child may be brought up to that standard of cleanliness, order, regularity, and discipline which the public school presupposes in its white children. Its task is the changing of a way of living rather than the carrying out of a routine of academic studies. If this is not needed, then the Government school itself is not needed.
>
> An Indian school, therefore, which tends more and more to stress the academic at the expense of the practical, to lay emphasis on the completion of high-school courses and the attainment of college entrance credits, is losing sight of its real reason for existence, which is to prepare the Indian boys and girls eventually to take their places as self-reliant members of an American community.
>
> We are of the opinion that the Indian Service schools should strive not so much for uniformity and standardization as for adaption to actual and varying needs; they should not endeavor to reproduce the experiments and failures of the public schools, but should apply methods suited to the special problem of the Indian. Above all they should emphasize vocational training and the teaching of applicable and useful trades (23-24).

As Charles Burke before him, Charles Rhoads felt that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should actively promote the states taking over the duties then carried out by the Bureau. In both the 71st and 72nd Congresses, Rhoads supported bills which would allow the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with the states "for the education, medical care, and take other responsibilities for the Indians". Thus in a memorandum to the Secretary, he states that:

> The principle underlying this proposed legislation [Senate 3110] is in accord with the belief that the time has arrived when States directly interested in the civilization and advancement of Indians should begin to assume a greater degree of responsibility in connection with Indian affairs, and especially in matters relating to

> education, medical care, and relief of indigents. Several States have already given evidence of a disposition to assume more responsibility in the care of their Indian population, and this attitude may be interpreted as indicative of a willingness on the part of many States to assume an increased degree of responsibility in the management of the affairs of their Indian citizens...
>
> ...It should be borne in mind that this legislation provides an initial step in cooperative endeavor between the Federal Government and the several States and before a definite future policy may be outlined it will be necessary to have some experience in this sort of endeavor. The legislation confines this cooperation to the three subjects of education, medical care, and relief of distress, and does not in any way affect the status of the Indian either as to his citizenship or his property rights, nor does it affect in any way the tribal assets, landholdings or any other property of individual Indians or of any tribe of Indians.
>
> In view of the foregoing, I recommend the enactment of S. 3110. C.J. RHOADS, Commissioner (Senate Report 271·1932).

The Rhoads-Scattergood administration had accomplished much in the fields of health, welfare, and education, and had initiated many of the changes recommended in the Meriam Report. Their administration had substantially up-graded the qualifications and salaries for Bureau employees and had set the Bureau on the road toward being an organization of professional, service-oriented individuals rather than a dumping ground for unskilled or otherwise unemployable persons. An educational program with distinct goals had been worked out and the process of upgrading the instructional content and the physical facilities of Bureau schools was initiated. Statistical records were improved so that these records would be both accurate and would be consistently kept up to allow a continual comparison of given situations and data.

Perhaps just as important, Rhoads and Scattergood had fostered a climate of genuine interest in the Indian in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and had laid the groundwork for a change in the political climate of Congress regarding Indian affairs. Even though the BIA did not accomplish any major legislative changes in Indian law and a vast number of truly difficult problems faced the Bureau (particularly those concerned with the problems of heirship lands and tribal land claims), the Bureau at least had brought before the two Committees of Indian Affairs the idea that change within the administration of Indian affairs and a change in the approach to Indian problems was needed.

III. The Collier Years: 1933-1944

Background to the Collier Administration

It is interesting to speculate whether the very forces of depression which prevented Charles Rhoads from obtaining legislative changes for the BIA were those which finally allowed John Collier to accomplish those changes. The growing depression of the early 30's coupled with drought and severe snow storms in the West and Midwest had resulted in a reaction against government spending, as witness the speech of Senator King; the national reaction to the party in power was to dispose of it and elect a Democratic president with radical ideas (compared to those of President Hoover), who took with him into office a radical social program and radical-minded men to carry it out. And just as a Democratic president was elected, so also was a Democratic Congress, which included men who were willing to try a new approach to Indian affairs.

There had been many requests by organizations interested in Indian affairs (as the Indian Rights Association), by members of the Bureau itself, and by newspapers (through editorials) to retain Rhoads and Scattergood as Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of the BIA. But there apparently was never much chance of their reappointment; there were other more politically oriented persons to consider. Collier himself had apparently not anticipated the possibility of his own appointment:

> I [Collier] was well aware, however, of the impor-

> tance of obtaining a good appointment to the Indian Commissionership; and I knew that an appointment hostile to democratic principles of Indian administration must be headed off at all costs. I stayed in Washington pending settlement of the Commissionership and drew up a list of possible choices. This number included Huston Thompson, former chairman of the Federal Trade Commission; Nathan R. Margold, who had become profoundly versed in Indian problems and Indian law; Charles de Y. Elkus, San Francisco attorney and friend of the Indians; Lewis Meriam, who had directed the Brookings Institute study of Indian conditions; and Senator Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming.
>
> At the top of my list was Harold L. Ickes, who had been an able and vigorous champion of the Indian cause. And Ickes wanted the job. The only question I can recall coming up as to Ickes for Indian Commissioner, was whether he would be capable of the infinite patience which I knew an Indian Commissioner must exercise.
>
> At this point I requested Ickes to come to Washington, where we talked over the situation, and where he met Nathan R. Margold. Then, through Raymond Moley, at that time a member of Roosevelt's inner circle, I arranged for an interview in New York between Ickes and Roosevelt, and accompanied Ickes to New York...

Ickes apparently impressed Roosevelt more than Collier had anticipated, for, instead of appointing Ickes as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Roosevelt requested that Ickes accept the position of Secretary of the Interior:

> Immediately upon his appointment to the Interior Secretaryship, Ickes found himself hard pressed by Joe Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic Floor leader of the Senate, to nominate Meritt as Indian Commissioner. During his fifteen years as Assistant Indian Commissioner, Meritt had built a far-reaching, personal political machine. He had the support of vocal Protestant missionary societies, of certain anthropologists, and of various Senators and Congressmen.
>
> Ickes sent for me and scanned the list of candidates for the Commissionership which I was able to offer him. He stated, in brief, that one of the candidates on my list had refused to be considered, and that the others simply could not be put across. He went on to say that I could be put across, and

> that I must become an active candidate for the Commissionership.
>
> This proposal thoroughly dismayed me, and I asked for time to think it over. The Indian Commissioner was apparently to be either Edgar Meritt, a fatal choice, or myself, a choice which in my own mind was clouded with doubt (Collier 1963:169-71).

However, Collier's son persuaded him to accept the final nomination. He was backed strongly by Ickes (who told the Senate he would make no more nominations in the Department of the Interior until Collier was confirmed--and didn't!), Roosevelt, and supporters of both men, and while disappointing those who wished to see Rhoads and Scattergood returned to office, the nomination met with general approval. There were no hearings held on his appointment; he was confirmed and approved unanimously by the Senate.

One can describe the activities of the BIA under Rhoads and Scattergood and one can recount the accomplishments of their administration without actually considering the personalities of the men themselves. That is rather difficult to do with the administration of Collier--the impact of the man made just as much an impression on the Bureau as his policies and his accomplishments. Collier had long been interested in what would now be called "civil rights". He had joined the American Indian Defense Association in the early 20's to use legal means of obtaining redress for Indian grievances. As the Defense Association's executive secretary, he had bucked both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and national and local politicians to win judgments for Indians, and had been one of those who had helped to defend the

Pueblos against white encroachment on their land. Among those involved with Indian affairs, Collier at least was well-known. In one sense, his appointment was a case of "put up or shut up".[2]

In reading Collier's own writings and the remarks of others about him, the impression is left of great dynamism and fervent zeal in working for those causes he thought worthy. There is also the impression that Collier was a most single-minded, determined man who pursued a goal without any hint of compromise in either his ideals, the goals, or the means he had worked out to arrive at his goal, at least willingly. There is a touch of dogmatism in his writings; it appears he found it difficult to believe in the sincerity and good faith of those people who differed with him about how to achieve justice for Indians. That there were others who, with as deep a concern for the state of the Indian as himself, held opposing viewpoints on solutions to the problems of Indians--or even the problems--seemed a difficult thing for Collier to accept.

Collier's views on "Indians" were poetic, to say the least. He strongly believed in the spiritual values of Indian cultures and felt that the harmony of living as a part of the universe, as opposed to being in competition with it, was a state of mind that Americans could benefit greatly from. Indian art, ritual, religion were all a part of a harmonious universe, giving strength and dignity to the Indian way of life, whether it be sheep-herding or agriculture. And the very "oldness" of Indian cultures made them worth preserving.

> Among Indians, the art life is everybody's life. No art form or striving exists for itself alone. Painting, pottery, weaving, music, dance, poetry, drama, are each and all, in their main intent, vehicles of the tribal will that the past shall be incarnate in living men, and that living men shall deepen and regulate their lives through entering into the dominion and powers of the living cosmos. Through ceremony and ritual art, the earth and gods receive back from men the gift of life...
>
> The new direction of the Indian Service was to try to help the unconscious, creative bent of the Indian, which across thousands of years, in more than a thousand highly differentiated cultures, had forged itself into strong and unique beauty. The "wind of the spirit, which on all waters blows" was encouraged to bring the ancient values out into the modern world (1963:193).

Collier's beliefs in the values and essential goodness of an Indian way of life did not, however, detract from his beliefs that Indians were entitled to significant features of the American way of life--schools, adequate medical care, adequate housing and living conditions, a means of making a living, etc. Indians were entitled to these things as were all Americans--but as were all Americans, they were entitled to their cultural traditions and beliefs and freedom of choice.

Thus he noted that the new policy of the Bureau should be directed toward three ends; "Economic rehabilitation of the Indians, principally on the land. Organization of the Indian tribes for managing their own affairs. Civil and cultural freedom and opportunity for the Indians" (173).

In the annual Commissioner's Report for 1933, Collier stated the major problems of the Indian Service as he saw them.

> 1. Indian lands.--The allotment system has enormously cut down the Indian landholdings and has rendered many areas, still owned by the Indians, practically unavailable for Indian use. The system must be revised both as a matter of law and of practical effect. Allotted lands must be consolidated into tribal or corporate ownership with individual tenure, and new lands must be acquired for the 90,000 Indians who are landless at the present time. A modern system of financial credit must be instituted to enable the Indians to use their own natural resources. And training in the modern techniques of land use must be supplied Indians. The wastage of Indian lands through erosion must be checked.
>
> 2. Indian education.--The redistribution of educational opportunity for Indians, out of the concentrated boarding school, reaching the few, and into the day school, reaching the many, must be continued and accelerated. The boarding schools which remain must be specialized on lines of occupational need for children of the older groups, or of the need of some Indian children for institutional care. The day schools must be worked out on lines of community service, reaching the adult as well as the child, and influencing the health, the recreation, and the economic welfare of their local areas.
>
> 3. Indians in Indian Service.--The increasing use of Indians in their own official and unofficial service must be pressed without wearying. To this end, adjustments of Civil Service arrangements to Indian need must be sought; but in order that standards may not be lowered, opportunities for professional training must be made genuinely accessible to Indians. With respect to unofficial Indian self-service, a steadily widening tribal and local participation by Indians in the management of their own properties and in the administration of their own services must be pursued.
>
> 4. Reorganization of the Indian Service.--A decentralizing of administrative routine must be progressively attempted. The special functions of Indian Service must be integrated with one another and with Indian life, in terms of local areas and of local groups of Indians. An enlarged responsibility must be vested in the superintendents of reservations and beyond them, or concur

rently, in the Indians themselves. This reorganization is in part dependent on the revision of the land allotment system; and in part it is dependent on the steady development of cooperative relations between the Indian Service as a Federal Agency, on the one hand, and the States, counties, school districts, and other local units of government on the other hand (68-69).

Legislation and the Indian Reorganization Act

Shortly after assuming the Presidency, whether or not with John Collier's urging, Roosevelt abolished the Board of Indian Commissioners by executive order, stating that "There is no necessity for the continuance of the board and its abolution will be in the interests of economy" (May 25, 1933). However, there was little legislation (other than appropriations bills) prior to the spring of 1934, when the Johnson-O'Malley Act was passed and the so-called "subversive Indian acts" were repealed.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior "to arrange with states or territories for the education, medical attention, relief of distress and social welfare of Indians". Previously the Department had had to make contracts with each local unit, school district or whatever for the performances of the respective services; the Johnson-O'Malley Act provided the authority whereby the responsible department of each state undertook the responsibility for providing education, medical attention, and social services to Indians within that state. Educational services in California, for example, were arranged with the state department of education "whereby the department undertakes to provide education for Indian children in the public schools and other educational institutions of the State, Federal funds to be disbursed on the recommendation of the State department" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1934:88).

The Wheeler-Howard Act, or the Indian Reorganization

Act, grew from Collier's beliefs in the essential goodness of the tribal way of life of the Indian and in the necessity of a change in the policy governing the use of Indian land. In the Annual Report for 1933, he discusses the need to reorganize land distribution and to return much of the land lost through allotment and outright sale to the Indians. President Roosevelt had signed an executive order stopping the sale of alloted lands, but the problem remained that without legislation, Collier felt there could be no genuine land reform. The Wheeler-Howard Act was directed toward this ultimate end.

The first draft of the bill was presented in the Senate by Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and in the House by Representative Edgar Howard of Nebraska, chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs. At the same time copies of the bill were sent to all tribal councils, superintendents, and many individual Indians. Regional conferences were arranged at Rapid City, South Dakota; Santo Domingo, New Mexico; Fort Defiance, Arizona; Phoenix, Arizona; Salem, Oregon; and Riverside, California. Fey and McNickle's comment on these conferences deserves repeating:

> The meetings were held, hurriedly, and not everyone understood the meaning and purposes of the proposed legislation. Many Indians could not believe that their views were actually desired, and they could only conclude that the maneuver was a device to get their consent to measures which would destroy them. Nevertheless, Indian views were expressed and made of record and transmitted to the congressional committees. It was the first time such a procedure had

> been followed in the long history of Indian legislation. (96).

The first draft of the bill was presented to the Committees on Indian Affairs in February of 1934, and hearings lasted over a period of roughly four months, with long breaks between hearing sessions to allow Congressmen and BIA officials to attend the regional conferences. House hearings proceeded at regular intervals over the four month period; the Senate met in February and resumed hearings in late April.

The major provisions of the original bill (S.2755/H.R. 7902) provided for: 1) The granting of a charter of self-government to Indians residing on a reservation for the "powers of government and such privileges of corporate organization and economic activity" (1934:2) if three-fifths of the adult Indians residing on that reservation voted and ratified the charter. 2) The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was to be authorized to provide for the special education and training of Indians to fit them for jobs in public service (ranging from social work to road-building); this included the payment of tuition in public schools and colleges. In addition, the Commissioner was authorized to "promote the study of Indian civilization and preserve and develop the special cultural contributions and achievements of such civilization" (8). 3) No more Indian lands should be allotted and that the Secretary of the Interior could, at his discretion, withdraw any surplus land from sale; the restricted period on trust lands should be extended; the Secretary was to make a study as to land use, and consolidate and acquire further lands to promote further economic and resource development. There were also provisions for turning this land over to a chartered Indian community and to provide for conservation and resource management. 4) A court of Indian Affairs should be established which would be responsible for the trying of cases concerning individual Indians or Indian tribes--crimes, law suits, inheritance (land and otherwise), etc.

It is reasonably safe to say that practically everyone realized that something needed to be done to change the state of affairs among the American Indians, but there was, of course, a great deal of disagreement as to what. There were many who felt that much could be accomplished administratively, without legislation, certainly not legislation of the type being proposed. Others however, felt that only major revisions in current law and a "mandate" from Congress could effectively change the mess Indian affairs were in.

The major portion of both House and Senate hearings concerned those sections of the original bill dealing with Indian lands and the status of alloted lands and the allotees when and if Indian tribes were given self-government. It was on this point that the majority of Indians themselves found the bill difficult to understand and accept; many groups voted against the original bill until it had been clarified and simplified, fearing that the bill merely provided for alloted, individually-owned lands to be taken from the allotees and given to landless Indians.

There were other objections, some of them well-considered, others based on a very narrow-minded viewpoint or arising from ignorance. Some objections resulted in the elimination of certain features, as the provision to set up a Court of Indian Affairs. (It might be pointed out that this Court was conceived to be much broader in scope than the Indian Claims Commission set up in 1946.) Other provisions were mainly simplified.

The section concerning education falls into the "greatly simplified" category. The original bill provided for the payment of tuition, education and training for public service and appreciation of cultural heritages. In addition:

> Sec. 2. It is hereby declared to be the purpose and policy of Congress to promote the study of Indian civilization and preserve and develop the special cultural contributions and achievements of such civilization, including Indian arts, crafts, skills, and traditions. The Commissioner is directed to prepare curricula for Indian schools adapted to the needs and capacities of Indian students, including courses in Indian history, Indian arts and crafts, the social and economic problems of the Indians, and the history and problems of the Indian Administration. The Commissioner is authorized to employ individuals familiar with Indian culture and with the contemporary social and economic problems of the Indians to instruct in schools maintained for Indians. The Commissioner is further directed to make available the facilities of the Indian schools to competent individuals appointed or employed by an Indian community to instruct the elementary and secondary grades in the Indian arts, crafts, skills and traditions. The Commissioner may contribute to the compensation of such individuals in such proportion and upon such terms and conditions as he may deem advisable. For this purpose the Commissioner may use moneys appropriated for the maintenance of such schools (8).

It was this latter section which raised a furor of protest, though compared to the volume of mail and petitions received by members of the Committee referring to other sections of the bill, the protest on the "special education" section of the bill was slight. The focus of the protest was in church groups. The following letters were typical.

> A few days ago we became aware of the Wheeler-Howard bill, having to do with the Indians of this land.
>
> We are not failing to recognize that there are very many valuable suggestions and provisions in this bill, but besides these, there are also provisions of which we cannot approve; and for this reason perhaps you would appreciate our opinion.
>
> It appears to us that the intention of the bill to sponsor the perpetuation of Indian religious traditions and customs as living modes of faith is highly objectionable. In the first place, the Government is never in its place when it attempts to take in its hands the religious training of any people. Secondly, does it not appear overbearing on the part of the Government practically to determine for the Indian the type of religion which is to be his? Thirdly, why should the Government of a Christian Nation prefer for the Indian his own superstitious religion to Christianity itself?
>
> We do not mean to state that the entire bill is to be overthrown; many parts of it are very good. But if the Wheeler-Howard bill is to become law, we must respectfully request you to consider the striking out of the word "tradition" on page 24. First because the minds of our Indian children should be not more polluted with these traditions than they already are; and secondly, it is unconstitutional that the Government shall provide money for religious instruction.

> Dear Sir: If the Wheeler-Howard bill must become law, we would respectfully request you to consider the striking out of the word "traditional" on page 24. First, because the minds of our Indian children should not be more polluted with these traditions than they already are; and secondly, it is unconstitutional that the Government shall provide money for religious instruction. Section 2 of title 2 provides that the medicine man shall enter the Indian schools to teach Indian tradition

> (which is religion) to the Indian children; and moreover that the Government shall pay for such instruction.
>
> We fear that if this bill becomes law with this objectional feature in it, it will greatly damage our mission work which we have been able to carry on thus far by the grace of God (341).

It is interesting to note the form phrases ("polluting the minds of our children", etc.) which were apparently circulated through the southern Michigan, northern Indiana area; they reappeared in the majority (8 of 14) of letters protesting the teaching of Indian "traditions". It is also interesting that "traditions" were always equated with "religion".

Regardless of the final outcome of the bill, this was the first attempt to recognize, as a matter of Congressional and BIA policy, the history and culture of American Indian groups.

A second argument against establishing a program of "special education" for Indians and against Indian schools in particular was a problem still very much alive--the belief that special Indian schools (and certainly an Indian program) was little more than a policy of Indian-white segregation.

The goal of Congress, "friends of the Indians", and many Indians themselves was to assimilate the Indian into white American culture as rapidly and painlessly as possible. One way of doing this was to mix Indian and white children so that better relations would develop between them and Indians would learn to be white. Senator Wheeler expressed this view rather well:

> We are giving them an education in our public schools and certainly when you are giving them an education in the public schools they have advanced every place that they have gone. It is shown that when they have gone to the public schools they have mixed with white children and they have become much better citizens and they are respected (74).

Or in a shorter phrase: "To civilize the Indian, put him in the midst of civilization. To keep him civilized, keep him there" (Gen. R.H. Pratt, in Hearings 1934:347). This placing the Indian children in the type of Indian schools envisioned by Collier meant removing and for many minds, segregating, the child from the influence of white civilization. The idea proposed by the Wheeler-Howard Act to "educate the Indians in the framework of their own racial culture by empowering the Commissioner to organize Indian schools so as to direct the mind of Indian youth to its own social and economic problems, arts and crafts, history, etc." (347) was therefore considered a segregationist proposal and a backward step in Indian affairs.

Objections to other features of the original bill followed the same line as objections to the education provisions--that the Wheeler-Howard Act would increase the degree of segregation of Indians from whites and would retard Indian advancement toward civilization. It was felt that provisions of the original bill, by granting to Indian tribes the powers of self-government under federal jurisdiction, would result in the isolating of Indian peoples from whites and the white communities surrounding Indian reservations.

The Indian Rights Association expressed the opinions of many:

> The Wisdom of providing for separate Indian communities as a general and permanent feature in the midst of our existing type of society is doubtful, especially where they do not now exist. Peoples have to live with their neighbors. This Association believes in opportunity for Indians to embrace the best of our civilization and to make their own contribution to it. It therefore opposes the creation of newly formed Indian communities alien in political, social, and economic organization from their white neighbors except in cases of demonstrated need. Without attempting to specify a time when Federal guardianship should cease, we feel that any plan for Indian development should point toward the full responsibility of citizenship and financial support of local government. This, however, should work out naturally and in harmony with conditions in each local situation (Indian Truth March, 1934:2).

Another objection expressed by the Indian Rights Association was to the provision in which the Secretary of the Interior could set standards for Indians in the BIA, and remove certain positions from the federal Civil Service. The Association felt that this provision would lower the standards of the Bureau and worse, provide inroads for a new establishment of the spoils system.

The greatest difficulty, however, lay in questions relating to the position of the landed allotee and the rights those without land would have over the landed; the great part of the hearings in both the House and the Senate dealt with the status that both groups would have if a tribe became incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act. In a nutshell, did the IRA jeopardize individual property rights?

The goal of the Wheeler-Howard Act was to assimilate

Indians into the life of middle-class American culture. There were few who believed, as did John Collier, that Indian life was truly valuable, and fewer still who believed that Indians as Indians had a place in modern American life. Some individuals and groups, particularly various religious groups (certainly not all), believed that anything Indian --art, language, customs, religion--was bad and should be eliminated; others encouraged the revival of Indian arts and crafts but balked at any suggestion of retention of such things as marriage and divorce customs and certainly religious beliefs. The main drive of the Congressional hearings was to establish the means as to how a new policy would bring the Indian into American life. The allotment system had been tried; individual Indians had been given land. Some had succeeded and had become self-supporting; the majority had not. The Indian Rights Association believed that the failure of the allotment system was due mainly to poor administration; their argument against the Wheeler-Howard Act stated that it "shifts the incentive which the authors of the Allotment Act had in mind for individual ownership of property leading toward citizenship" (March 1934:1). Their belief was that individual ownership of land was in itself a step in the direction of assuming the responsibilities accompanying citizenship and to move toward communal land ownership reduced both the incentive and the necessity of cooperating with white neighbors, resulting in dependency on the Federal Government and a refusal to take up the obligations of citizenship in the state and country.

The Indian Rights Association might be considered a middle-of-the-roader in its position on the Wheeler-Howard Act. The Association approved of several provisions, notably the ones on education and the extending of credit, objected to others, but in general felt that legislation was unnecessary--proper administration of existing law would be better. Except for minor provisions and wording, the American Indian Defense Association and the National Association of Indian Affairs, Inc. (both organizations whose membership included many anthropologists) were extremely favorable toward the bill. At the other extreme, the American Indian Association was determinedly opposed to the bill, apparently because they were opposed to the very existence of and therefore any activities of the BIA.[3]

The final bill (S.3645) as passed June 18, 1934, eliminated several features of the original bill. For one thing the bill was vastly simplified, being reduced from 13½ pages to 3½. The whole section relating to the establishment of a Court of Indian Claims was discarded, and Title II, relating to special education for Indians, was narrowed considerably in scope. As before, however, the main emphasis of the bill was directed to alleviating the problems arising from the loss and misuse of Indian lands.

The main provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (in greater detail than discussed for S.2755) were that;

1) There would be no further allotment of any Indian

lands (Sec. 1) and the trust period on Indian lands was to be extended indefinitely or until otherwise directed by Congress (Sec. 2).

2) Surplus and restricted lands were to be restored to tribal ownership.

3) Up to $2,000,000 was to be authorized for the Secretary of the Interior to acquire land, water, and/or surface rights for Indians.

4) The Secretary of the Interior was authorized to make rules and regulations for the management of forestry units, to restrict livestock to the carrying capacity of a given rangeland and "to promulgate such other rules and regulations as may be necessary to protect the land from deterioration, to prevent soil erosion, to assure full utilization of the range, and like purposes" (325).

5) Up to $10,000,000 was to be established as a revolving credit fund from which the Secretary of the Interior could make loans to Indian chartered corporations "for the purpose of promoting the economic development of such tribes and their members" (236).

6) Up to $250,000 was to be made available for tuition payments and other expenses for Indians in recognized trade and vocational schools. (The provisions for the teaching of Indian crafts, civilization, and traditions were deleted.)

7) The Secretary of the Interior was directed to

> ...establish standards of health, age, character, experience, knowledge, and ability for Indians who may be appointed, without regard to civil-service

> laws, to the various positions maintained, now or hereafter, by the Indian Office, in the administration of functions or services affecting an Indian tribe. Such qualified Indians shall hereafter have the preference to appointment to vacancies in any such positions (236).

8) Any Indian tribe had the right to organize for the common welfare and might adopt a constitution and by-laws which had to be ratified by the majority of the adult population in a special election. Upon petition by a third of the adult population, the Secretary of the Interior might issue a charter of incorporation to the tribe, provided that a majority of the adult Indian population ratified the charter at a special election called by the Secretary (Hearings 1934).

A total of 266 tribes voted on whether to accept the IRA or to reject it during 1934-36; of that number, 189 voted to come under the Act and 77 preferred to remain as they were. Joseph Garry classifies four differing reactions to the IRA, and four generalized reasons why individual Indian groups voted as they did.

> 1. Though there was much publicity concerning IRA prior to its enactment and following, most of the Indian tribes did not clearly understand the many phases of it. Indians gave much laborious study to the proposed program and in many instances consulted lawyers to help them better understand its provisions. Some tribes after careful study found the program advantageous to their welfare and adopted it.
> 2. Other tribes exerting the same amount of effort to gain full understanding of its terms, but seeing that because of the already established conditions within their reservations the IRA program would be of little value to them, turned it down, thus refraining from any commitment that might jeopardize their present satisfactory standing.

> 3. Then there were small tribes without much individual and tribal land holdings--like the Kalispels of Washington--who readily accepted IRA because of their hope and trust in the Government without a full understanding of the program's purpose.
> 4. Finally, there were those Indian tribes, both large and small, who, due to prior unsatisfactory dealings with the Government, turned it down without even taking time to discuss it.
>
> In summary, then, the failure of some Indians to accept the Indian Reorganization Act was due chiefly to a lack of full understanding of the program, together with suspicions that the purposes of the IRA, through no fault of its author, would be side-tracked and its promises never fulfilled. (Joseph R. Garry 1954:35).

The concrete results of the Indian Reorganization Act fall into three categories: self-government, the purchase of land, and the availability of credit and loans to Indians. The IRA provided, first, for the adoption of a tribal constitution, and secondly, for a charter of incorporation. By 1940, 105 tribes had incorporated and 135 tribes had adopted constitutions. In general, these constitutions were quite similar, but there were significant differences in how governmental bodies were to be selected, what persons were eligible, and to what extent the powers of the government reached.

> Usually the constitutions included a definition of territory over which the tribal jurisdiction would extend; a provision defining membership and establishing a procedure by which membership might be obtained or relinquished; procedures for organizing a governing body; rules for the use of tribal lands; authorization for the creation of courts to administer justice; guarantees with respect to civil rights--in short, the powers and procedures that ordinarily would be found in a charter of municipal government (Fey and McNickle:98).

The purchase of land for Indian tribes continued until the onset of World War II, and although the IRA's authorized annual appropriation of $3,000,000 was never reached in any one year, approximately 4,000,000 acres of land were added to Indian reservations as of June, 1941.

The IRA had authorized a revolving credit fund of ten million dollars, and though again, the full amount was never appropriated, the amount loaned by the government ($5,500,000 by 1945) resulted in an increasing tendency for Indian farmers and stockmen to utilize their land themselves, rather than lease it, as they were able to purchase equipment and better stock. Repayment of loans was exceptionally good; of the $12,000,000 which had been loaned by June, 1948, only $3,627 had been cancelled as uncollectable (Fey and McNickle: 100).

Collier (1954:7) pointed out one further aspect of the IRA, one which he called

> ...the "mountain-top" view of the intention of the Act and of the Acts and policies complementing it.
>
> That intention was that the grouphood of Indians, twenty thousand years old in our Hemisphere, should be acknowledged as being the human and socially dynamic essential, the eternal essential, now and into the future as of old. It should be grouphood culturally, as rooted in the past as the group at issue--each group among the hundreds--might desire, and as modern, American-oriented and implemented as the group at issue might desire. Definitely, finally, cultural determination for Indians was not to be a function of governmental authority from this point forth. Cultural determination, by American public philosophy, has been and is the function of all our many thousands of human groups; the IRA only restored this fundamental of mental and moral health to the only groups which official or governmentally had been denied it, the Indians.[4]

In the year following the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act, other bills were passed which extended Collier's programs of Indian self-realization. In April 1935, hearings were held on a bill to "promote the general welfare of the Indians of Oklahoma" and in June the bill was passed, entitling the Oklahoma Indians (excepting the Osage) "a right to share in the program of self-government, corporate organization, credit and land purchase" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1935:163). In May 1935 the Indian Reorganization Act was extended to the Indians of Alaska. Also in June, a bill was passed which defined the election procedures of the IRA "on the Question of excluding a reservation from application of said act".

The Indian Arts and Crafts Board was created by an act of Congress in August 1935, and in the following year the board members were chosen. The Board was composed of five men who served without pay (well, $1.00 a year plus expenses). In general, the purpose of the Board was to promote Indian arts and crafts; specifically, this entailed the creation and licensing of government trademarks to indicate the genuineness of the manufacture of arts and crafts to the general public, the encouragement of the manufacture of arts and crafts in areas where their production had been dying out, the promotion of new arts and crafts among Indian groups, research into means of selling Indian handiwork, experimentation and guidance into ways in which to improve craftwork, assistance in the form of obtaining loans which would "aid in the production and sale of Indian products" (165) and the promotion of craft work among Indian groups.

Educational Philosophy and Programs

It is often difficult to follow in detail educational policy and practices over the span of years that John Collier was Commissioner. Part of the difficulty is that, although Collier and his Directors of Education were reasonably consistent in their goals and aims, much of the actual implementation of their policies was subject to a great deal of distortion as the policies and directives filtered down to the reservation and school superintendents and teachers, those who were supposed to actually carry out the programs. Secondly, much of the educational program was frankly experimental (which, in many areas, almost became a goal in itself) and the details of several programs came and went as teachers left or joined a given school. Thirdly, the variety of cultures and peoples to be educated often resulted in a program failing in one area while being successful in another.

Collier's comment on the job of Director of Indian Education is not encouraging.

> The directorship of Indian Education was surely one of the most demanding jobs in the world. There are no other school administrative units of its geographical size and of its variety of problems in America, and there are few anywhere. Extending across the United States and Alaska, dealing with many different and distinct ethnic groups, Indian education had to encompass many studies not ordinarily found in school curricula--the introduction of Indian children to modern techniques of health and hygiene, for example, and to our world's machines and power sources, and to basic concepts about money and commerce (1963:196).

W. Carson Ryan continued as Director of Education under Collier until 1936, when he resigned from the Indian Service to work with the Carnegie Foundation. As did his successor, Dr. Willard Beatty, Ryan shared Collier's fundamental goals in educational policy; Dr. Ryan probably influenced the formation of Collier's goals significantly. In any case, Ryan's resignation and Beatty's appointment did not fundamentally change any of the directions the Education Branch had been taking.

Willard Beatty had been head of the Winnetka, Illinois school system and was noted as a "progressive" educator. His views on what progressive education involved were fairly simple; a total mastery of the basic tools of reading, writing, and arithmetic based upon the realistic experiences and understanding of the child.

> I am progressive to the extent that I believe ...that those schools are best attended and that education is a more vital process, in an atmosphere in which there is understanding of the purpose for which learning is taking place; to the extent that the learning is pertinent within the life of the child; to the extent that learning is not by rote, but the child knows what he is learning about.
>
> In other words, we were tremendously concerned with the mastering of the fundamental processes, believing that they were foundational to any advanced forms of education. You cannot learn any content subjects if you cannot read.
>
> Any form of education is based upon the assumption that the person who is being educated can read the material which contains the subject matter in which he is being educated and which he is supposed to learn. In the same way any understanding of quantitative thinking is based fundamentally, naturally, on the elements of the mathematics involved.
>
> Any ability to get on in the world with other people is contingent on the ability to understand what is said to one, and to express oneself either orally or in writing; and to do that

> accurately, both as to form and as to concept; and without that, anything which you may build on top of it is built upon shifting sands--it is built upon an unsound foundation (Hearings 1944:213).

Willard Beatty offered a very interesting observation on the education of previously un-educated peoples, whether minority groups as the American Indians or peoples of "underdeveloped" nations. His thesis was that it takes at least four generations of exposure to schooling before the majority of the population attends or will value attendance at college. The first generation of children will attend school for approximately three years, the second generation will complete the elementary grades and possibly a year or so of high school, but it will not be until the third generation that a significant number of children will graduate from high school. The fourth generation will be the generation in which college education is considered a desirable goal, even though there may be few actual college graduates. Beatty explained this trend by saying that, as each generation obtained more education, that generation desired the further education of its children beyond the level it had achieved. Obviously this thesis was merely an indication of trends and not a rule; prominently educated Indians were frequent enough to be considered as indications of what all Indians were capable of being.

Beatty was instrumental in the organization and production of the BIA publication Indian Education. This eight-page "field letter" as it was called, was designed to present the activities, philosophies, policies and "preferred procedures of Indian education" of the Washington staff and of in-the-field teachers to all members of the education staff of the Bureau. In a way, the field letter attempted to provide some sort of in-service training to supplement other more direct methods of in-service training and to give an awareness of what was happening in education and in Indian schools to teachers in the field. In the closing years of World War II, and as a result of the high turnover of teachers in the Bureau, the "significant articles and editorials" which had appeared over the past eight years were collected in a single book, Education for Action. A second volume was put together in 1952, entitled Education for Cultural Change, and in 1964, Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment was published. Beatty edited the first two books, and Hildegard Thompson, Beatty's successor as head of the Branch of Education, edited the third.

Beatty's comments on the title of the second book indicate his attitudes on the goals of education for Indians:

> ...the recommended procedures in Indian education are dynamic. We are seeking to bring about specific and clearly planned changes in behavior on the part of our students. We believe that any desirable behavior can be taught if our objectives are clear-cut and our educational procedures are sufficiently carefully defined. The columns of Indian Education, the demonstration classes at summer schools...have been devoted to specific descriptions of the procedures calculated to achieve the desired ends (1952:10).

Beatty was also responsible for the organization of the in-service training sessions for education personnel, and beginning in 1936, a series of six-week long sessions were arranged for teachers in the Bureau. The first summer programs were held at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and Wingate, New Mexico; at Pine Ridge, Wingate, Chilocco and Sequoyah, Oklahoma, in 1937; Sherman Institute in California and Chemawa, Oregon, the third summer; and Pine Ridge and Wingate again in 1939.

The overall program at these in-service training sessions was oriented toward helping Indian Service teachers (and other personnel) to understand the problems encountered by their Indian pupils and to give insights into the handling of problems encountered in teaching Indian children. Courses were offered in anthropology, rural sociology, Indian arts and crafts, elementary education, school administration, health and hygiene (including First Aid and safety), "philosophy of Indian education", and perhaps most important, courses dealing with the teaching of English to non-native-English speakers and courses in specific Indian languages (Navajo, Sioux). There were also courses dealing with land management, erosion control, soil conservation, and irrigation practices.

The 1939 session was notable for the comprehensive scope of the program. At the Wingate session:

> Courses were divided into three groups. First, there were courses in subject-matter related to basic Indian Service problems such as water, soil, and livestock, American Indian history, Indian priests and healers, health education, child psychology and mental hygiene, case studies in mental hygiene, science materials for teachers in Indian

> schools, and steam power plant engineering and welding. Secondly, there were offerings designed to explain the philosophy, policies, aims, and objectives of the Indian Office; special lectures by Commissioner Collier; lectures on the philosophy of Indian education by Dr. Willard Beatty; lectures on the current policies of the Medical Division; community adult education; introduction to the Indian Service; principles and problems of Indian Service administration; and the education of dependent peoples. Thirdly, demonstration and methods courses were organized including experiences for beginners, the one-room ungraded school, and school life for senior high school students. In an unnumbered, undesignated category were the helps in vitalizing education programs such as school shop activities, play program, audio-visual aids to education, art for Indian schools, and creative art. In addition, eight round table discussion groups were formed around different subjects; and there were supplementary activities such as physical examinations, a conference for the medical personnel, lectures on special subjects, a mental hygiene clinic, a Navajo language workshop, laboratory work in photography and visual educational material, a laboratory of anthropological services, and a conference for Indian Assistants (Woerner 1941: 167).

Arrangements were made with "a number of first-rank American colleges" (1937:227) for teachers to secure college credit toward an undergraduate or graduate degree. In 1936, 404 teachers attended the two sessions; in 1937, the number more than doubled--972.

There were other BIA programs developed to aid teachers and other personnel in the understanding of Indian problems. In 1938, the first Indian Service Teacher's Conference was held in Santa Fe December 2-3. Similar in subject matter to the in-service training sessions, the Conference was set up to include speeches, round table discussion groups, panel discussions, and visual demonstrations.

The focus of Collier's educational policy lay in three areas: to make the education received by Indian children relevant to Indian life; to teach Indian children to be proud of and to value their Indian past; and to utilize Indian schools as centers for adult education and community participation. From a broad viewpoint, the program to enroll children in day schools rather than in boarding schools was a reflection of the importance of home and community life.

The word "relevant" used in discussing a program for Indian education covers a wide range of meaning. Aspects of relevancy were instruction in local Indian arts and crafts, vocational and agricultural education, the teaching of English through new methods, and an increased emphasis on basic instruction in health and hygiene, all of which were directed toward the belief that the policy and activities of the schools should be directed toward preparing Indian children to live a better life oriented toward the reservation.

> For many years to come most of the tribes will continue to live as several million white rural families are living, depending on the land that is theirs to produce subsistence-plus. Therefore, it should be the aim of Indian education, at least for the next generation, to deliver Indian adolescents fully and practically prepared to make the most of their available resources, adolescents in whom the tie that binds them to their homeland has been strengthened rather than broken, Indian youths with wide horizons, bilingual, literate, yet proud of their racial heritage, to become completely self-supporting, even though going without some of the mechanical accessories of the present day.
>
> At the same time, Indian education must reckon with the fact that there will be Indian children for types of employment removed from the Indian reservations; also that there will be Indian children of more than ordinary ability and talents

> who must be given an opportunity to develop this ability and these talents to the highest possible point for use either in the white competitive world, in Indian life on the reservation, or in the Federal Indian Service (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1935:129).

At the elementary school level, children were to be introduced to the English language and to reading and writing. As in the high schools, projects were to be developed in such things as stock raising, poultry raising, gardening, etc., with the projects used as a subject around which to order the more academic subjects of arithmetic, "civics", geography, health, etc. In Dr. Beatty's words, "If you are going to have arithmetic, counting two and two, let it be two milk goats and two milk goats make four" (Hearings 1944:215).

The emphasis on vocational-agricultural education was a direct result of the belief that the majority of Indian children should be educated to live on the reservations. A survey taken among the Pine Ridge Sioux during 1938-39 showed that 98% of the students who had either attended and/or graduated from the Oglala Community High School had remained on the reservation after leaving school. Those figures were also close to estimates given about the Navajo population remaining on the reservation after schooling; the Phelps-Stokes Fund Report (1939) suggested that 90% of all Navajo returned to the reservation and made it their permanent home (49).

There were other reasons besides the statistical preference of Indians to educate Indians for life on the reservations. While the national income was rising, the

Depression was not over, and industrial wage work was difficult to find, particularly for relatively unskilled Indians.

The Meriam Report had noted that an industrial survey was needed to determine what type of jobs were open near the reservations and what types of jobs industry had open away from the reservations, and then Indians could be trained to fill those jobs. With the onset of the Depression, however, such a survey became superfluous in terms of the needs of the country at large, but the training of boys in technical-industrial work continued. Thus each reservation had its share of plumbers, auto mechanics, painters, harness makers, etc., who worked a short time at a given job and then returned home to live on the reservation.

> It is an open question as to whether any large number of our young people from these groups should be taught to look forward to wage employment as a means of self-support. In a period of general unemployment which finds millions of white boys and girls without work, it is particularly inappropriate to attempt to train young people who must overcome race prejudice, to compete for the inadequate number of jobs which are available... (Beatty 1941:158).

It was the realization of this problem that partially caused the growing emphasis of training in vocational agriculture and animal husbandry. At the same time there was a growing awareness by BIA personnel that mere training in an industrial skill was not enough to assure a job off the reservation. There were the almost inevitable problems of language, of cultural differences, and normal misunderstandings which were magnified into major problems. Unfortunately, it was not until after World War II that this awareness of off-the-job problems became translated into a program of action to cope with such problems of culture and a follow-up program of Indian school graduates was initiated.

The problem of the returned student also added its weight to the orientation of an educational program toward the reservations. Hulsizer comments that:

> Lack of practical habits, disbelief in their efficacy, and deficiency in other attitudes essential to practical efficiency in the present situation have had a tendency to render "educated" Indians unfit for self-respecting participation in any environment... [parents] have seen their children go away to "the white school" and come back with a disinclination and an inability to make homes and pursue ranch and range country activities and a general unfitness for the life they must live (1940:10).

The specific subjects offered under the broad heading of vocational-technical-agricultural education varied from reservation to reservation and from school to school. The program was largely confined to the high school level; as such, vocational education reached only those students who progressed to high school.

At Pine Ridge, 1936 marks the beginning of a limited form of the vocational-agricultural program; following the 1938-39 survey, the program was sharply intensified. A selection of projects covered a wide range of subjects (calling some projects "courses" seems a bit formal):

Training in cattle raising (feeding, disease prevention, etc.)

Butchering

Training in pig, chicken, goat and dairy cattle raising

Irrigation instruction, instruction in rammed-earth building

Courses in weaving, beadwork, pottery

Livestock improvement--keeping blooded stallions and bulls at the schools for use in improving Indian stock

Courses in home economics--sewing, canning, cooking, child care

Training in crop improvement--seed selection, irrigation, truck gardening

Home repair--minor carpentry, shop work

Many of the vocational projects at Pine Ridge were directed toward ranching as an occupation; the soil is not rich and the rainfall is not sufficient for widespread farming, and there were few opportunities for wage work in the area outside of the Indian Service. Other regions gave a different slant to vocational training. Among the Navajo, soil conservation and erosion control were two major subjects, and sheep raising replaced the emphasis on cattle raising. Unfortunately, the Phelps-Stokes Report indicated that work in animal husbandry and agriculture was "still in an embryonic stage in most schools" (63) in 1939, though the program did include "trips to demonstration areas, observation of proper methods of herding, grazing, shearing, some discussion of agricultural and irrigation practices, and where possible work on the school farm or on individual plots" (63).

An interesting innovation in home economics training for girls was that of the practice cottage. This was a small building erected near the main school, containing perhaps two to three rooms, in which pairs of girls lived for short periods of time. The girls would prepare meals, clean house, make articles (as curtains) for the cottage, entertain guests, including boy friends and parents, and in general, "practice" housekeeping in a home-like environment. Often a baby would be "donated" by an employee of the school or the parents of a pupil and the girls would be taught to care for the infant. In some areas, the practice cottage for girls was supplemented by a practice cottage for boys, where boys also learned how to keep a house in order and to cook for themselves.

At the same time that the BIA was reorienting its educational program toward training for reservation life, various critics were objecting to this policy on two basic grounds: 1) that with the Indian population, particularly that of the Navajo, increasing rapidly, most reservations could not support the Indians living on them; therefore, Indians should be educated for life off the reservation and for assimilation into white culture. 2) Education for life on the reservation was a form of segregation.

Thus the Phelps-Stokes Report states that:

> Even if it is the case that ninety percent of the children return to live on the Reservation it may be doubted if this [reservation-centered education policy] is entirely wise. It is admitted that education must be adapted to present-day lives, the "here-and-now" of the people, but in the case of the Navajo with their present means of subsistence, the reservation is crowded so that deliberate efforts might well be taken to educate some of the children for life off the Reservation (49).

And Davida Woerner commented that

> ...few have pointed out the manifest injustice

> of teaching the Navajo to be a Navajo in a reservation environment which is already overcrowded, and which is barren of economic advantages (1941:171).

The segregation issue struck more deeply into the heart of Bureau education policy. The issues raised were essentially the same as those raised during hearings on the Wheeler-Howard Act; in many cases, the same persons were involved. The American Indian Federation was perhaps the most vocal in its denunciation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The membership was composed entirely of Indians of varying degrees (by blood quantum), and its main goal was to abolish the Bureau and its guardianship over the Indian altogether. The basic premise of the Federation was that Indians, no matter what their respective degrees of competence, training, literacy, etc. should be turned loose from the paternalism of and dependency on the Federal Government; that Indians neither deserved nor required special services; and that by freeing Indians from their wardship status under the BIA, they would at last be on equal grounds with whites as citizens of the United States.

Judge Napoleon B. Johnson, a member of the Federation, stated the AIF position in hearings before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs concerning S.2206:

> Judge Johnson: We contend that to maintain separate CCC camps for Indian boys, separate sewing rooms for Indian women, separate farm and livestock agencies, and separate community projects for Indians, and reservation schools, makes the Indian race conscious and gives him an inferiority complex. It has a tendency to destroy his ambition to become independent, and it re-

> tards his advancement. At the same time there is imposed upon the tax-paying public extra millions of dollars of cost for these separate maintenances (1939-1940:14-15).

An official of the organization, O.K. Chandler, expressed the Federation's position on Indian schools at those same hearings.

> But the full-blood Indian we are so concerned about is never going to develop into a resourceful, independent, self-supporting citizen until he is given an opportunity to mix and mingle with the white child and white race from school days to the end of his days. Educate an Indian child in a Government Indian school and you educate that child to be, act, and think as an Indian, and he thinks and acts as an Indian, not a citizen, for a long, long time afterward. He has to grow out of being an Indian in order to become a citizen. He succeeds or fails in this effort through his ability to unlearn what he should have never been taught--to be an Indian, live and think as an Indian, instead of a citizen of these United States, the only country he has ever known.
>
> The Chairman: Your viewpoint is that these Indian schools should be closed.
>
> Mr. Chandler: I am positive of that. As a lasting benefit to the Indian he most certainly should be educated in our public schools--for his own good and as a savings to the taxpayers of the Nation, who are called upon to meet a double and useless expense (1940:12).

The American Indian Federation was admittedly more extreme in its criticism and its solutions than other groups or many Congressmen, even though others felt that the best way to solve "the Indian problem" was to have Indians mix freely with whites. A culture was conceived to be something like a fluid or air which a human being picks up by some form of osmosis if he is brought into contact with it.

This viewpoint considered special schools for Indians (and other services) a form of segregation; an associated idea was that Indians could only develop their economic self-reliance and independence by adapting to white culture. Or to turn the viewpoint around, special services resulted in segregation, segregation resulted in inferiority and the loss of one's ability to accept the responsibilities of citizenship.

Other objections to vocational-agricultural training were not directed to the program itself but to the way the program was--or was not--being handled. There was no uniform course of study in the high schools; and many programs were being offered on a "let's see if this works" basis. The Phelps-Stokes Fund reports for the Navajo that:

> There is at the present time no course of study for junior and senior high schools, though a great deal of general direction has been given by supervisors and in the Indian service training schools. It is believed desirable here, however, to have some kind of outline teaching guide to prevent duplication of work and to insure that some of the essentials are not neglected because of lack of interest on the part of a teacher. A tentative course of study has been worked out at the Wingate Vocational School and is now being tried there and at Shiprock preliminary to taking it to other schools on the Reservation (1939:62).

The Phelps-Stokes Report also noted that there was little coordination of the goals of the vocational program among the Navajo, despite Commissioner Collier's declarations that the educational program should be directed toward life on the reservation.

> The vocational training program for boys is torn between its attempts to do several jobs, some of which conflict with each other: (a) to equip the boys to return to Reservation life with its traditional occupations of sheep raising and subsistence agriculture, (b) to train students for

> other occupations possibly off the Reservation, (c) to give exceptional students the opportunity to go on to colleges, normal schools, and business schools, (d) to have a core of workers to help in the maintenance and farm program, (e) to compete with other non-Reservation schools in the variety of the program offered, the number of extra-curricular activities, and the athletic program. They have also to consider the insistent desire of most Indians for trade training--of any kind--and the very general feeling that the only desirable economic future is wage work (1939:64).

Collier felt that one aspect of the importance of day schools and one of the basic goals of his administration was to foster community participation and community activity centered around the day schools. In the Commissioner's Report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1934, Collier states the directives given to the architects planning the new day schools; these guidelines revolve around the concept of a community-centered school.

> 1. The schools are to be community schools of the activity type, for the use of all members of the community, adults as well as children, and the buildings should be adapted to local needs rather than conform to any conventional school plans. The simplest possible construction should be used, with local materials and Indian labor, not only for the usual reasons inherent in the Public Works program but as part of the Indian participation in school and community work.
>
> 2. Even the smallest schools are to have a varied program. They are to be "one-teacher" rather than one-room schools--that is, there should be, in addition to the main "classroom", space for workshop, library, school lunch, washing, (frequently for community washing and laundering as well as for children's use), and other needs that will develop for both pupils and community.
>
> 3. In schools larger than one-teacher schools there should be abundant space for shopwork, crafts, science, agriculture, music, home economics, library, play and assembly facilities, and such other

> school and community activities as are indicated in the detailed set-up for each school. A general community meeting place is to be assumed regardless of the size of the school (86).

Types of community activity were to be such non-scholastic activities as meetings to discuss tribal or regional enterprises, community "betterment" projects (well-digging, dam-building, school-raising, etc.) or political activities, (elections, etc.); they were to be centers for such individual mundane activities as shoe-repairing or laundering, where individuals could come together; and the schools were to serve as centers of adult education, in the forms of both course work and projects.

The latter purpose was one of the several reasons why the Phelps-Stokes Fund Report favored the day schools--only the day schools offered a chance to provide facilities for an adult education program. The writers were quite impressed with both the facilities and the use of those facilities by the Navajo.

> Reference may here be made to the admirable facilities for adult education which exist at the day and boarding schools. Two rooms at each school are equipped, one with some carpenters' tools and the other with a stove, laundry and other home economic apparatus. These are made available for adults who may wish to use them as well as for the children. The use made of them is most encouraging (1939:43).

Unfortunately the problem remained of acquiring teachers who could conduct adult education classes in such subjects as English and who could actively initiate or participate in activities designed to encourage community development and/or community participation. When possible, however, day school teachers would conduct courses in sewing, cooking, canning, infant care, care of the sick, carpentry, mechanics --general courses offered under the rubric of home economics or industrial arts--once or twice a week.

It is difficult to assess the actual "success" of the school-community center program. The barriers to making the school a meeting place for both children and community-minded adults were often formidable. A reservation superintendent or principal who did not believe in or care about such a program could effectively turn a school into nothing more than a laundromat; any white leader who was afraid to turn over his leadership to Indians for fear of their making mistakes could easily end up being the community organization, or at least the glue that held the community together.

Congress did not show any particular interest in the idea of community participation (except to denounce it now and then when property was involved as possibly Communistic). It showed even less interest in any programs for adult education, an attitude somewhat characteristic of Americans in general. Schools are for children, not adults. Thus, during World War II, funds for adult education programs in the Bureau were eliminated by the Bureau of the Budget and the Appropriations Committee of the House. In addition, work done outside of the school building and the school environment was strictly curtailed if it involved any employee expense which could be charged to the government, and so even incidental adult education programs were cut. Thus teachers who followed up their in-class instruction by talking to or working with parents in the children's homes were considered to be doing extension work and were actually penalized in terms of wages for doing such work (Hearings 1944:253).

As stated, Collier emphasized the importance of continuing the trend toward the conversion or replacement of boarding schools to or by day schools. During the first part of 1933, two boarding schools were closed altogether and the children placed in public schools; three others became day schools. In addition, there was an increased attempt to reduce the number of children attending boarding schools and enroll them in either government day schools or in public schools. Thus from a total of 14,266 children in 29 off-reservation boarding schools, the number dropped to 12,594 attending 25 schools. Day schools were increased concordantly, from 5,063 children in 124 schools to 6,838 in 132 schools.

The day schools were to be centers for community activities; it was thought that a natural parental interest in children would bring parents within the range of the influences of the school because parents would be interested in the activities of their children. And, it was felt, children would return home daily and influence their own home life and that of their parents.

Schools were also to be the jumping-off place for home demonstration agents, agricultural agents, and social workers.

> Day school employees are becoming community conscious and are increasingly capitalizing opportunities for affecting the community through school contacts. All the day-schools teachers at Pine Ridge remained on the reservation during the past summer in order to guide the children's garden and other group activities organized before the close of schools, thus encouraging the parents, many of whom are summer nomads, to remain at home...Community contacts were in several instances made by sponsoring returned student clubs. A school-community program was planned last Thanksgiving Day in one of the new Navajo day schools, the mothers furnishing part of the food and participating in preparation and serving and a group of returned students furnishing part of the musical entertainment (1933:75).

In spite of the increased emphasis on day schools, Collier recognized four classes of Indian children for whom the boarding schools should continue to operate: 1) orphans without any homes; 2) neglected children whose home environments were wholly demoralizing; 3) children who had no school facilities near their homes; and 4) high school pupils desiring special vocational training opportunities not offered by local schools. To further this latter aim, special shop buildings were put into service at five schools and three more were under construction; and the industrial training program of many day schools was extended to include adults who wished to participate.

Poverty alone was not to be considered a good reason to place a child in a boarding school; mentally defective or "delinquent" children were to be sent to special schools and were not to be enrolled in the ordinary boarding schools where there were neither the facilities nor the trained personnel to treat such children. In October, 1934, a special "trachoma school" for trachomatous children was opened at Fort Apache, Arizona; later, three more trachoma schools were opened in Arizona on the Navajo Reservation and a fifth was opened at Chemawa, Oregon. In an attempt to "humanize" the dormitory system, some boarding schools (Riverside School, Oklahoma; Tongue River, North Dakota) experimented with "cottage dormitories". Twenty children, 10 boys and 10 girls, of differing ages, lived in what was essentially a coed dormitory. The children shared the living room, play rooms, kitchen and dining room; bedrooms were on separate ends of the dormitory. Although supervised by two or more adults (usually a married couple), the children themselves were responsible for fixing meals, housekeeping and repair work; the object was to create both a comfortable family environment and a sense of responsibility for boarding school children who saw little of their actual families and who had little opportunity to accept responsibility on their own.

The number of children enrolled in school rose year by year. (Table III). Many of these children had never before attended school at all, but because of the proximity of newly-built day schools or the conversion of boarding schools to day schools, a large number of children were enrolled for the first time. Collier's report to the Secretary of the Interior for 1937 states that:

> The growing emphasis upon day-school attendance of Indian pupils has resulted in an increase of Indian day-school enrollment in Federal schools from 4,532 pupils in 1928 to almost 12,000 during the school year 1936-37. More than half of this

> increase represents children not previously enrolled in any school. During the same period of time Indian pupils in public schools have increased from 34,163 to 50,328.
>
> The most spectacular development of the new day-school policy has been on the Navajo Reservation. Here there has been an increase of 37 new day schools during the last two years, with a resultant increase from 822 pupils in attendance at day schools to an enrollment of 2,147. Because of the tremendous number of Navajo children estimated not in any school at all, there has been no decrease in boarding-school enrollment during this period of time. There are still more than 7,000 Navajos of school age who are not enrolled in any kind of school (228).

At the same time, attendance at the day schools was often irregular, and it is doubtful that many children received a school year's worth of education because of repeated absences.

The day school and the whole concept of the day school was not received enthusiastically in all quarters, although the majority of criticism apparently came from the Navajo and friends of the Navajo.

Some of the objections were apparently based on no more than resistance to change--there were parents who did not want to send their children to day schools simply because they themselves had attended boarding schools and felt that their children should also. Other parents did not have the economic means to care for those children who were formerly housed, clothed, and fed at the Federal boarding schools and viewed the day school arrangement as an attempt by the government to get out of its "duty" to provide for school-age children. Some Congressmen, in the same vein, viewed as sub-standard the home environment of some Indians and groups of Indians, to the point that they felt that Indian children should be placed in boarding schools simply to feed and clothe the children adequately; and that to take children from the boarding school environment and place them in day schools was rather a type of child neglect. Representative Mundt of South Dakota expressed the point most graphically:

> We were in pathetic homes on almost every reservation where it just was not conceivable--you could take children out of that environment six or seven hours a day and you can offer such a child an opportunity for educational improvement. Now he is attending a little one- or two-room school, and then after the six or seven hours you send him back for the other 16 to 18 hours of the day to live in that environment where he would be expected to stay on the floor of a home or in a tent which does not have a single stick of furniture in the place, which does not have a window in the home, which has nothing whatsoever except blankets on the floor, four or five dogs and six or eight Indians living there. I want to know what we can do for an Indian child in an environment like that (1944:251).

The quality of education and the "permissive" atmosphere of the day schools were also criticized by Indian parents and interested whites; accustomed to the rigid, military-based system of the recent past, there were Indian parents who doubted that the process of educating their children could be accomplished with play periods and freedom of activity.

Attendance problems were one of the most difficult problems the day schools faced. At a boarding school, unless a child was sick or ran away, he or she had little choice but to attend classes; the day schools had no such coercive power over children. The enactment of compulsory attendance laws was left to the tribal governing body, if any (even though the Secretary of the Interior was expected by law to enforce compulsory attendance[5]) and was considered to be a decision not to be made by the Federal Government or the Bureau, and without any real felt need for their children to attend school, many parents did not encourage regular attendance at the day schools. The Phelps-Stokes Report (1939) lists several reasons why Navajo parents removed children from school, including the "attendance of children at ceremonies and sings, which keeps them away from school from one to five days at a time" (59). But their belief was that the primary reason for irregular attendance was that "the school is not yet an accepted part of Navajo life, and that the child is still an economic asset and often expected to remain home to care for the sheep, help with the planting and harvesting...and with younger children" (59).

Bad roads coupled with rainy or snowy weather quite often made it impossible for school busses to pick up children; the alternative was for children to walk to school and many parents were justifiably reluctant to let their children leave home in bad weather over poor roads if they lived any distance from a school. Since Indians were, in general, poor, children were often not dressed for such a walk.

In addition, nomadic peoples such as the Navajo or the Pima-Papago (agricultural migrants) would simply move, regardless of whether there were children in school or not, as the economic realities dictated. Schooling was then interrupted as a child was transferred from school to school, or beyond the reach of the school or a school bus.

Yet in spite of the repeated objections to day schools by Navajo leaders and parents, the Phelps-Stokes investigators reported that "enrollment at the boarding schools had fallen off with the increase of the day school program" (61). Whether this statement took into account that there were fewer boarding schools, or that acceptance into them was based on stricter rules is difficult to ascertain.

There were also criticisms of the day schools for those very reasons that Collier, Beatty and Ryan considered the day schools important, i.e., that the day schools allowed children to live with and be a part of their families in a familiar home environment. Statements such as the one by Representative Mundt might accurately describe the material condition of the environment of home and family. Beatty's comment is an appropriate reply.

> ...we believe that the child and his parents should have the right to secure an education for him while he continues to live within the security of his home and family, which is a rather important consideration from a psychological standpoint. Any person familiar with mental hygiene will point out that some of the basic feelings of insecurity which characterize many Indians, as well as other people, can be traced to their having been taken out of their secure home as children, and never had had the opportunity since then to reestablish the feeling of security (Hearings 1944:243-244).

Jacob C. Morgan, a Navajo, and later president of the

Navajo Tribal Council, presented the case for the boarding schools at hearings before the House Committee on Indian Affairs in February of 1935.

> Perhaps you would like to know why the Navajo Indians would rather have the boarding schools than the day schools. It is because of years of experience. They have learned that the boarding school is an institution giving their children many practical advantages. The young men and young women of the tribe have received great benefits from these boarding schools. The Indian people know that these boarding schools, with proper care, for everyone is always careful, afford wholesome surroundings, baths, proper food, proper quarters in which to sleep, proper schoolrooms, drills, and so forth. There is too, proper supervision in the classrooms. There is proper supervision too, in industrial training. These are some of the desired advantages of the boarding school; and yet Mr. Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, ordered these boarding schools closed (318-19).

Morgan had other charges against Collier and the Bureau concerning the day schools. In the selection of sites for the day schools, Collier was accused of collusion with the Navajo Indian traders who "want a day school built close to their place of business so that all the money put into the day school can be grabbed by the traders. Any number of Indians work in these day schools and the traders see a good chance to get the Indian money" (319).

A second objection to the day school was the type of building itself, i.e., either hogan style or "of the old type--square, rock walls, flat dirt roofs" (322). Morgan held a very strong aversion to the Navajo hogan (320), partly because of its lack of sanitary facilities and partly because it was Indian.

> The native materials in these schools are furnished by the Indians. Poles and rocks are being hauled by the Indians...Nevertheless we do not approve of that kind of building. It seems that the authorities think that any old thing is good enough for the Indian. If we are going to receive any kind of desirable education, and for the sake of the boys and girls, we should have a good clean up-to-date schoolhouse (322).

Morgan objected to other aspects of the day schools--the fact that bad roads and bad weather often made it difficult for children to reach the schools; that girls were unsupervised in the day schools and that, while walking back and forth to school, boys and especially girls had no protection and that "there are rascals out there looking for these young girls".

Collier answered Morgan's accusations rather thoroughly. Day school sites had been selected on the basis of a population survey of the Navajo people; and were determined by "first, accessibility to existing child populations, and secondly, by permanency of their population...we have tried to locate those schools where it is possible to rehabilitate and keep the population" (363).

The construction of day schools, Collier pointed out, were far from being "any old thing"; other critics of the administration had charged that the schools were too elaborate. Specifications of the schools included plans which would make the school a community center, and construction materials, while of local origin where possible (logs and rocks) were up to government building codes. Collier brought plans of the buildings; these plans in themselves indicated that Morgan's views of what the schools were to be were inaccurate.

The final objection, that young children were in danger of being molested, Collier countered by saying that if girls had been safe for centuries herding sheep alone, then they were certainly safe going back and forth to school.

Morgan's objections to the day school program were typical of continuing complaints from the Navajo, although in some respects Morgan appears to be an atypical Navajo. As a missionary of the Christian Reform Church, he was strongly against the continuance of Navajo ceremonials and repudiated the Collier policy of strengthening the Indian way of life.

> Mr. Murdock: Is it the ambition of your people to perpetuate customs under which you have lived for time immemorial, or do you want to become like white men and adopt their culture and civilization?
>
> Mr. Morgan: We do not want to live, Mr. Chairman, the old traditional life of our people. We would rather acquire an education and live as do other American citizens (323).

There would have been many Navajo who would have objected to the general application of that statement.

In a rather roundabout way, a continuing criticism of Collier's program by the Navajo leaders was that there were not enough schools; even if all Navajo children wanted to attend schools, there was not enough classroom space for them. The Indian Rights Association commented that "if all the school plants in the Navajo country were filled to capacity, there would still be at least 5,000 children for whom schools are not available" (Indian Truth, Nov.-Dec.

1939:6). At the same time, many day schools were only partially filled.

The Collier administration continued to place Indian children in public schools under the provisions of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. Yet there was perhaps more caution in this respect than there was in the transfer of children from boarding to day schools. In the Report to the Secretary of the Interior, 1936, Collier gave 12 factors which he considered important in determining the role which the Federal Government should take in supporting Indian children in public schools (169).

1) Type and quality of the public school actually maintained.
2) Money needed for maintaining a school suitable for Indians and whites.
3) Amount and value of non-taxable Indian lands.
4) Methods of taxation.
5) Amount of state support for education.
6) Basis of distribution of state support.
7) Maintenance and capital outlay costs.
8) Legislation affecting school finances.
9) Distribution of Indian children.
10) Attitudes of whites toward Indians.
11) Social backgrounds of Indian children.
12) Economic conditions of Indians.

In some states, tuition was used to provide special services for Indian children; in others, money was provided for lunches and clothing for children in public schools.

Until 1935, clothing for school children had been issued free to children enrolled in a school. In the boarding schools, clothing usually consisted of some type of uniform for both boys and girls, and since children usually stayed at the school for long periods of time, there was little problem. The day schools resulted in a different pattern, however; the Phelps-Stokes Report commented that "The initial enrollment in the day schools was large, but when the clothing had been given out many of the children did not return until a fresh supply was needed" (55).

In 1936, the Commissioner abolished the practice of giving free clothing to children attending school. Instead, Indian parents were required to either supply clothing, to pay the schools for clothing, or to work on some community or school project (roads, school grounds, painting or even constructing buildings) in return for clothing. While the clothing order was considered essentially fair by various white groups as the Indian Rights Association, missionary denominations, etc., the method of its enactment subjected the administration to rather angry criticism. The Director of Navajo Education stated that she had issued the order to school personnel the first of August, but "most information from local school communities indicates that it became known generally only a few days before the time for school to open" (Indian Truth, Nov. 1937:2). In protest of the order, its timing, and simply because of the lack of clothing, Navajo parents withdrew their children from school altogether.

School enrollment dropped 20% to 50% from the previous year, and this in itself caused a great deal of alarm among those who felt that enough children were not attending school as it was. The order was criticized on the grounds of being "false economy"--that hundreds of thousands of dollars were being spent on buildings which were not used to even half of their capacity, and on teachers who taught a handful of students. The question was asked, then why attempt to save a few thousand dollars on clothing when so much money was being "wasted" elsewhere if children did not attend schools.

Centralized authority in matters of curriculum in Indian education was de-emphasized in the early 1930's and

> ...proposals from Washington...were never more than suggestive, and might be implemented or disregarded at the reservation level on the responsibility of the Reservation Superintendent and his Reservation Principal... [proposals] were...discussed with the staff and teachers, and related to the economic needs of the reservation. As they were successful, they often spread.
>
> Sometimes good ideas encountered opposition on the part of Indian Service employees not connected with the schools, and their continuation or spread was discouraged. Such opposition sometimes took the form of encouraging the Indians to disregard or oppose the suggestions. At other times the proposed school activities were so at variance with previous public school experience of Indian Service teachers, that they were carried out halfheartedly, if at all. Sometimes the turnover in teachers was so rapid that plans which had gotten off to a good start were dropped by new teachers who replaced the ones who had successfully introduced the innovation....The ideas were good, but they never caught on. In the absence of executive orders, they were allowed to disappear from the work of the schools (Beatty 1955:9-10).

This decentralization of authority and lack of direction was partially responsible for the confusion that resulted in several areas of Indian education. W. Carson Ryan openly admitted that some of the programs being attempted were experimental and Willard Beatty was no more committed to a fixed plan of action than was his predecessor.

The Phelps-Stokes Report commented unfavorably upon the lack of a specific curriculum for the Navajo.

> But the Navajo day schools have no course of study, some of the day school teachers are unable or unwilling to prepare adequate syllabuses of their own and the grouping of children by their chronological or social age at the expense of their mental or school achievement has been pushed too far. The result is that there is a lack of definiteness in school achievement, a belief on the part of some parents that their children do not "get on" and a certain bewilderment on the part of some of the teachers, at least, as to what they should do next. ...they [the writers of the Report] believe that it would be to the benefit of children, parents, and teachers if a more definite course of study could be prepared by the teaching, supervising, and administrative staff. Should competent teachers prefer to use their own courses of study they might be allowed to do so, but there should be something definite by which the children and, if need be, teachers could be measured. After all, "progressive education" can be carried on within a course of study and in the writers' judgment by no means all of the teachers are competent to work without a defined course of study. As will be pointed out later some good thinking and planning has gone into the preparation of the high school courses of study. Something similar might well be done for the elementary schools...(1939:43-43).

The writers pointed out that Navajo parents, as well as white parents, measure their children's achievements in school by their transfer from grade to grade and by the giving of letter grades.

> ...To the Indian parent and to many other parents also, progress in education is measured in terms of school achievements such as the passing

> of grades and the easily measurable achievements of reading, writing and arithmetic....The difficulty of creating standards or achievement in the three R's comparable with accepted public school gradings in the case of children who come to school without a knowledge of English is admitted, but in some parts of the world it has been found possible to create special standards for the indigenous non-English speaking children. It is standards, not necessarily identical standards, that are necessary (42-43).

The "experimental" schools then, were felt to be too experimental, with too little emphasis on the basics of reading, writing, and mathematics. Graduates of either the elementary or the secondary schools were not comparable in knowledge and ability to children of the same grade and age of the public schools. In many instances, the Bureau schools did not offer the same courses of study as did public schools, and while, by 1944, all BIA schools but those in Arizona and New Mexico had been accredited in their respective states, in 1939, children who graduated from Federal schools found that they could not attend college without a certain amount of make-up work, usually a year, in order to fill entrance requirements (particularly requirements in foreign languages and higher math). Bureau schools were considered to be at fault both by not offering a college preparatory curriculum to students and by inadequately preparing those children who did go on to college. In Congressional hearings, parents would attack the curriculum content of BIA schools, feeling that their children were not receiving an education comparable to that received by children attending public schools. Beatty, however, defended

Bureau school programming by noting that, in view of the number of Indian children who remained on the reservation and made no attempt or expressed little desire to go on to college (or, for that matter, who graduated from high school), a college preparatory curriculum made little sense. Criticisms of the curriculum also ignored the amount of time it took to teach English, a problem public schools did not have to cope with with white children. Neither did the public schools have to contend with the differing cultural backgrounds of their pupils; these points were often overlooked by critics--Congressmen and parents alike--of the Bureau schools.

One of the major academic tasks of the Indian Service was to teach English to Indian children. For many Indian children, attendance at school was their first contact with the English language, and in both the public and Federal schools, this lack of acquaintance with English caused major problems in any attempt to educate Indians. In most cases the concept of a verbal language becoming visual was difficult enough for the child to grasp, and when the language was one unfamiliar to an Indian child, the difficulties for the child intensified. Secondly, the diversity of Indian languages was a distinct barrier to any "formula" solution; each reservation with its own language called for a different set of teaching procedures. And thirdly, the contents of textbooks and grammars in English were often beyond an Indian child's experience.

> One of the most serious problems of the Indian Service lies in dealing with races of people, large numbers of whom still speak their native languages and for whom English is a little-used foreign tongue. In many of these groups, as for instance the Navajo, the Pima and the Papago, written records are entirely foreign to the racial experience, and reading, therefore, lacks the functional reality which it occupies in the thinking of the average white child. Furthermore, on the more isolated reservations, Indian young people have no opportunity for contact with ferryboats and steamers, firemen, policemen, postmen, railroad trains, and streetcars, and many other objects and people whose activities form the familiar basis of elementary school reading. The problems of teaching these young people to read, to make intelligent use of numbers, and in other ways to accept the basis of American education would be greatly simplified if textbook material existed which was phrased in terms of the Indian child's experiences (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1937:22).

Very few public schools had special courses for the instruction of English to non-English speakers; in Montana, W. Beatty reported that 25% of the Indian children enrolled in public schools were in the first grade.

> The reason for that was that the Indian child came to school still speaking the Indian language. The school made no effort whatever to give the Indian children special instruction in the speaking of English. The Indian children were tolerated and permitted to sit in the back of the room. As quickly as they acquired some facility in English they were permitted to participate in the general instruction; and if they did not succeed in acquiring English so that they could participate easily, they were left in the first grade until they dropped out of school (Hearings 1944:152).

In the BIA schools, the problems of teaching English were far more recognized. Younger children (under six) learned a second language more readily than did older ones, and so during the early years of the depression nursery schools were opened to enable the school system to "catch"

Indian children at a younger age. By the 1940's, however, appropriations for these nursery schools were eliminated; the budget was limited to children from six to eighteen. Essentially then, the first year of any Indian child's attendance at school was largely devoted to the teaching of English, and by the usual standards of public schools, the child was then a year behind a white child in the subject matter taught.

In 1936, plans were initiated to develop textbook material that could be used particularly for the Indian education program and "dealing with subject matter in a manner applicable to the particular needs of the Indian child". Primers were prepared in which reading selections had been written by Indian children themselves and in which the illustrations were block prints made by other children at the Santa Fe School.

In 1939, the Appropriations Act granted authority to the Education Division of the BIA "to publish text materials for use in Indian schools". Among these materials was a pamphlet series on the cultural background of various Indian tribes, another series on methods in Indian arts and crafts, miscellaneous publications on soil conservation, Indian cooperatives, and a series of Indian life readers published in both English and a native tongue.

The Navajo were the most intensive focus of this drive to teach Indian children and adults literacy in their own language. In 1934, a hogan school (so named because it was held in a hogan) was held through the summer of June 1 to August 31 under the direction of Gladys Reichard. The goal was to teach "a selected representative number of Navajo to read and write their own language, and to train community leaders" (Woerner:137). Twenty-one students attended the school for an irregular number of days each over the summer, and the school managed to produce "four numbers of a small mimeographed newspaper" (138).

But the Hogan School experiment was not repeated in subsequent years. There were, however, Navajo language workshops for both white and Navajo personnel at the in-service training summer sessions, and several anthropologists--Father Bernard Haile, Washington Mathews, Edward Sapir, and Gladys Reichard--made varying contributions to the task of transcribing the Navajo language.

It was not until 1939-40 that a method of writing Navajo was introduced into the school system. John Peabody Harrington, a linguist from the Smithsonian Institute, and Oliver La Farge "evolved a simplified way of writing Navajo in ordinary alphabet letters with one or two extra signs" (Woerner:169). The method of "teaching" the written form of their language to Navajo adults was to develop posters "which anyone could understand without words" but which, in addition, were labeled with an "educational message" in both English and Navajo. Navajo children who had been to school were expected to aid adults in learning to read these posters, and it was hoped that capsule lessons could be taught in farming, home economics, and hygiene.

There were other aspects of Indian education that presented problems. As the Indian Service offered higher wages to attract teachers and other personnel, so academically qualified teachers were the rule. At the same time few teachers were at all prepared to face the problems involved in teaching non-white, non-middle class, and non-English speaking children. Fewer still were qualified to teach English to those children. The in-service training sessions were a step in alleviating this problem of unfamiliarity with Indians. Another problem, which varied from school to school, was the isolation of a school "post", particularly the day schools on the Navajo reservation. This factor alone made the teacher turnover rate rather high. At least, a forest ranger chooses a lonesome existence; a white school teacher often didn't know what she was getting into.

Indian personnel were widely utilized in Bureau positions of lesser rank--as bus drivers, mechanics, janitors, cooks, and dormitory personnel. However, programs to train Indian personnel for jobs in the school system or to aid in health work were only moderately successful. The ideal was expressed repeatedly: to train Indians as teachers, nurses, aides, home economics demonstrators, etc., and to have these people, who spoke both English and an Indian tongue, be the channel through which information could flow with the least amount of confusion and cultural distortion. Health institutes were held in 1934 and 1935 to train girls in the

Southwest to become nurses' aids and to "assist trained nurses in the prevention of disease and the care of the sick" (1935:131), but of the 210 girls who attended a five-week course at the Santa Fe Indian School over two summers, only 25 were declared eligible to be nurses' aides--the majority were tubercular themselves. Of course, the value of what was learned and perhaps disseminated by the other 185 girls who attended these institutes is rather difficult to determine.

A program of apprentice training of Indian college graduates in education was begun in the fall of 1936; potential teachers (about 12) were "placed with a selected groups of superior Service teachers to increase their [the students] probabilities for success when actually given full-time responsibilities as teachers" (1937:227). Again, given the number of teachers needed, particularly those with an understanding of an Indian culture, 12 students composed a tiny group.

Review of Bureau Policy

The latter part of the 1930's and the early 40's were a time of "studies" outside of the structure of the BIA, and many were oriented toward educational policies and practices. The Navajo and the Pine Ridge Sioux were usually selected as the subjects for these studies--the two groups seemed to be the prime subjects for the purpose of evaluating Indian policies.

In several respects, the Navajo have been the millstone around the collective neck of the BIA. The Navajo have been the largest groups of Indians outside of Oklahoma and the most remote, and in many senses the most "primitive". Because of these factors, programs that worked on other reservations didn't work with the Navajo; Congress used the difficulties in implementing programs for the Navajo as an attack against both the program and the Bureau. In some aspects, the Bureau sinks or swims with the Navajo program.

One of the first widely-published studies or surveys was that of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, an organization devoted to studying and reporting upon social problems in the United States. The Navajo Indian Problem was a document that, by and large, approved of the policies of the Collier administration. In spite of the difficulties encountered by the BIA in opening day schools for the Navajo, the four investigators of the Phelps-Stokes Fund were in total agreement with the goal of placing Navajo children in day schools. They were also quite impressed with the BIA's activities in developing adult education and community participation centered in the schools.

But the investigators were appalled at the low number of Navajo children enrolled in school. They saw several reasons for this: the nomadic life of the Navajo, economic pressures, "excessive paternalism on the part of the Government" (40), lack of interest in education, and quite important:

> ...the real reason is probably that the Navajos are in a period of cultural disintegration when the values of their old civilization have been destroyed and the new values of Western civilization have not yet taken root, coupled with the general state of unsettlement and discontent on the Reservation itself (40).

The Report writers balanced their praise of the educational policies and practices of the Collier administration with criticism, and while they did not study the "Navajo problem" in the great detail that characterized the Meriam Report, the Phelps-Stokes Report offered a balanced opinion of the educational program for the Navajo. Many of the more serious shortcomings of the schools were problems faced by other Indian schools and reservations and by substituting the word "Indian" for "Navajo", were widely applicable:

> The failure to win the confidence of the Navajo people in the reformed program.
>
> The failure to bring about cooperation with the missionary educators.
>
> The lack of Indian teachers and of white teachers sufficiently cognizant of the Navajo language and institutions and sufficiently fond of the Navajo people.
>
> The too-rapid introduction of "progressive education" theories and a failure to stress

> fundamental skills.
>
> The over-emphasis placed on a Reservation-centered program of school studies.
>
> The failure to provide sufficient guidance for the teachers by means of a course of study and adequate supervision (51-52).

The Phelps-Stokes Report was essentially neutral concerning Collier's attempts to strengthen the Navajo way of life and to introduce greater respect for the Navajo culture into the school system; the only comment made on this point was a simple statement. "The schools seek to preserve and strengthen Navajo cultural values, and at the same time fit the Navajo to make the adjustments to white civilization which are necessary if he is to function effectively in his contacts with it " (57).[6]

In the following two years, two more books were published concerning studies undertaken among the Navajo; both books were primarily concerned with education. The first, Region and Culture in the Curriculum of the Navajo and the Dakota (1940) obviously was interested in the Sioux also; the second, Education among the Navajo (1941) was a history of both educational policies and practices among the Navajo alone.

Hulsizer's book was primarily a plan for future action rather than a review of a current program, or, as the subtitle indicates, "A Technique and Its Development into an Education Program". The first page of the introduction indicates the philosophy of the author in formulating his program and because it reflects the philosophy of many educators of the time, it bears repeating.

> ...education is a process of continuous growth in which each day's living approaches more nearly to what is good both for the child and the ever more inclusive and complex community or society in which he progressively becomes a responsible agent; that growth comes through the individual's interaction with his environment; that education is more inclusive than mere schooling; that the school is only one of the many agencies affecting the child's behavior and hence his education; and that the school must so organize its curriculum as to integrate the child's growth through all his experiences, and keep it moving toward ends both individually and socially desirable (Dunn in Hulsizer:i).

The rest of the book is a discussion of the geographic areas, the economic and social life of the Dakota Sioux and the Navajo, and the manner in which these factors should be used in developing a school curriculum for the two Indian groups. There is no question that Hulsizer agrees with the encouragement of cultural pluralism--there is even a subchapter titled "The National Grounds for Tolerating Cultural Diversity" in which he illustrates several instances in which differing cultural backgrounds have proved useful.

Hulsizer has several interesting observations, particularly with regard to the teaching of English to non-English-speaking peoples. For two years (from 1927 to 1929), he had been National Director of Rural Education for the Haitian government, and had been directly responsible for the training of teachers for a rural school system and the founding of those schools. He found that one of the best methods for teaching literacy was to make the subject matter of texts and conversations relevant to the community life actually lived by the people being taught, and that textbook teaching alone was insufficient.

> On my arrival in Haiti I found, by a study of 5,000 cases, that putting French text books into children's hands almost immediately upon their entering school was not successful even in teaching reading. On the other hand, a method based on community activities, where reading in the new language was preceded by meaningful conversation, was immediately more successful, once the native teachers had been trained in its use (xvii).

He makes the further point that literacy is not the only goal of education, that "in a group whose 'culture lags' include unhygienic practices, there are other desirable aims besides literacy" (xviii). Education should enable individuals or groups to more effectively and practically cope with their environments and the problems of the life they led. And often traditional reading practices developed in the schools were not carried over into non-school daily life "when reading might be a means of extending practical knowledge" (xviii).

Hulsizer did not think highly of the traditional method of teaching English.

> To many it has seemed common sense in dealing with a foreign-language group to begin by imparting to the pupils the language that would be the medium of communication. It was thought by this group that this end could be achieved by pressing an English reader into the hands of Navajo children on their entering school, regardless of their previous experience.
>
> This procedure appears less sensible when one remembers that many of the children would never before even have heard English spoken, a situation quite different from that in the early Colonial dame schools. But its common sense will appear even more questionable when one sees that it must imply such things as a teacher without insight devoting the better part of her time to cramming a trachomatous child nearing blindness with English textbook reading instead of informing the

> child and his family how trachoma may be cured and prevented from spreading (xvi).

Hulsizer also discusses a point that few, if any, other authors discussed at all--the Navajo students who, when very young, were sent to boarding schools and then returned to the reservation. Because of their youth when sent off the reservation and because of their long absence from home, they never learned to speak the Navajo language well and lost or never learned their native culture. At the same time, the boarding schools never taught a proficiency in English. Thus there were young Navajo who never acquired a thorough understanding of and the ability to speak either Navajo or English (xiv-xviii). The implications of this are somewhat frightening--a generation of the linguistically dumb.

Davida Woerner's history of education among the Navajo was a quite detailed book dealing with events, people, and policies from the early 1800's to 1941, the date of publication. She did not apparently doubt Collier's sincerity in attempting to develop a better program for Indians, but she was much more critical of the Collier administration's policies and programs than was the Phelps-Stokes Report. While not condemning Collier's goals of strengthening Indian values and the Indian way of life, and the orientation of educational programs toward the reservation outright, Woerner repeatedly expressed doubts as to the wisdom of such policies. Thus she states that:

> ...educating the Indian to be an Indian in an environment barren of economic gain and possibility for social assimilation opens to question the

> very foundation of the new reservation-centered education which the Navajo are receiving. Even if the Navajo were to be given the advantages of a most favorable environment, Commissioner Collier and his staff of educational experts have not discovered whether it is possible for fifty thousand Navajo to become politically, economically, and socially conscious and at the same time to remain faithful to the customs of the ancient American Indian (177).

She was even more critical of the methods (or lack of them) pursued by educational personnel in the Navajo Service, and she had little sympathy at all with the techniques of "progressive education", at least as practiced among the Navajo. In general, what she called "the years of experimentation" obtained only negative results and increasing confusion in her eyes, even though there were some programs iniated by Collier that were "worthy of special comment and consideration" (166). The in-service training of teachers and the recently introduced programs to teach literacy in Navajo were two such projects.

There is one difficulty in using Woerner's book, which is in general quite valuable in obtaining a detailed report of education in one area. Woerner does not distinguish between statements, programs, and policies issued from Washington that pertained to the Navajo alone and those which applied to all Indian groups. Neither does she point out that programs which failed or which were unsuccessful among the Navajo often obtained quite good results when developed among other Indians.

During this time period also, Dr. Pedro Orata was compiling a four-volume document concerning his program of education among the Pine Ridge Sioux at the Little Wound Day School, Kyle, S.D. Only one book was ever published however; a condensation of the original manuscript was finally issued in 1953. It is probably the most explicit document available as to the objectives and the activities of a school staff dedicated to the concept of "education for life"; it contains minutes of school staff meetings, detailed descriptions of projects and their goals, the effect of these projects on both adults and students of the community, and what was involved in "progressive education" (or as Dr. Orata stated it, "fundamental education") in a given school.

The objectives of the school program were regarded as local-level objectives of the Indian Reorganization Act, and Dr. Orata expressed these relative objectives in the following rather condensed form:

> IRA objective: To enable the Indian people to support themselves by utilizing the resources of their immediate environment.
>
> School program objective: Economic Independence.
>
> a) To develop a sense of responsibility on the part of the Indian people to earn their own living.
>
> b) To lead them to realize that they can improve their economic status considerably by utilizing more fully the resources that are available in their immediate localities.
>
> c) To give them the necessary training and competence so to exploit these resources for their own preservation.
>
> IRA objective: To enable them to manage their affairs internally and in relation to other groups, and to deal with their social, business, and personal problems.
>
> School program objective: Self Government.
>
> a) To develop sensitivity to these problems as their problems.

b) To give them varied opportunities to solve these problems with diminishing reliance on governmental supervision and protection.

c) To stimulate and promote confidence and pride in their ability to think for themselves and to manage their own affairs.

IRA objective: To enable them to improve their home living conditions with the resources which they now possess, or which they, themselves, can provide through their own effort.

School program objective: Toward Better Housing Facilities.

a) To lead them to realize that it is their responsibility, and not that of the government, to improve their home conditions.

b) To lead them to the desire to make improvements to produce a higher standard of living.

c) To make them feel, through actual performance, that they can do this.

d) To give them the necessary training and competence to do it, themselves.

IRA objective: To enable them to increase their happiness and well-being through the use of better and more adequate food and by having a more wholesome attitude toward and greater respect for the principles of modern sanitation.

School program objective: Toward Better Health and Well-Being

a) To lead them to appreciate the services of the medical department and to disabuse their minds of the efficiency of unscientific practices.

b) To lead them to realize that the promotion of health is their concern as individuals and as groups, and not merely that of the government officials.

c) To give them increasing opportunities to participate in the use of medical facilities for prevention, as well as cure.

d) To give them opportunities to experience the effect of good food and health and to prepare inexpensive, well-balanced menus.

IRA objective: To enable them to preserve and improve their cultural heritage as their contribution to modern civilization and as a partial basis for self-support.

School program objective: Preservation and Improvement of Native Culture

a) To lead them to see the desirability of preserving and improving their native art and craft work for their posterity.

b) To lead them to realize that it is their responsibility to preserve and improve it.

c) To give them opportunities for special training in the art and craft of their choice and according to their specific aptitudes for it.

d) To lead them to see the economic value of art and craft work and to help them promote and maintain a favorable market for it (19-20).

In a few words, then, the goals of the educational policy were not simply the three R's, but self-sufficiency and independence. The traditional belief that literacy and a knowledge of arithmetic were necessary to self-sufficiency was a secondary consideration in Orata's program; literacy became a means, not the end, of the educational program. As Hulsizer, Orata saw more important things for the schools to do than merely to teach kids to read.

The specific procedure by which the goals were worked toward was based largely on team effort. At Little Wound, twelve teachers were involved, plus children and adults of the community. The teachers met at the beginning of the school year to determine the objectives for that year in terms of all-over goals, class schedules, etc. This general organizational plan was then submitted to the adults of the community and, in the case of classes and class projects, to the pupils. The over-all plans were then reformulated "in the light of the comments and reactions of the adults and of the choices and preferences of the pupils" (21). The program thus arrived at was then put into the specific planning and development stage, and the actual projects were evaluated after their being put into action. Major projects over the school year were an all-community school carnival in the fall, a community hall clean-up project, and a commencement banquet and dance. Minor projects were home improvement, toilet building, a visit to a local dam site and work camp, building a practice cottage for boys, and what may be called "behavior projects"--those programs and discussions related to behavior and work around the school, as proper behavior in the dining room while eating, and the responsibilities involved in helping with kitchen work, cooking and planning menus, etc.

All of these programs were approached as topics of discussion in the classroom, with the teachers guiding the pupils' discussion toward a "rational awareness" of the factors involved in each project. There were also frequent staff meetings at which the projects themselves, progress in school, discipline problems, etc. were discussed.

The general result of this series of reports and studies was that Congress and the general public had a greater awareness of the programs and activities of the Bureau, and that the Bureau itself had a series of guidelines toward which to work in education programs. The critical evaluations of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Report and Woerner's book on the Navajo provided Congress with justifications for being highly critical of Collier's educational program among the Navajo, but the same books also provided praise for various aspects of the programs. None of these reports resulted in any major policy changes, as had occurred after the publication of the Meriam Report. Rather these reports and studies were utilized as documents of general information and as evaluation studies.

The Political Climate: Rejection of Collier's Policies

By 1937, any grace period granted to Commissioner Collier by Congress had reached an end. S. Lyman Tyler (1964) comments that:

> The last eight years of Collier's administration were a continuing contest between Collier and the House and Senate Indian subcommittees. This pressure made it difficult for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, under Collier, to develop the IRA to its full potential. Collier, under attack, found it difficult to be objective. The IRA became his program, and he did not hesitate to champion it (22).

And John L. Freeman, in a political study of the New Deal and the relation between Congress and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, pointed out various factors in the growing hostility of the two subcommittees.

> Even looking only at the nature of constituency as indicated by certain general features of the state from which committee members hail and at the length of service on a committee, one can infer gross characteristics of committee membership that possibly underlie the observed tendencies of committees to maintain certain viewpoints. Using the Senate and House Committees on Indian Affairs over a 14-year period (1933 through 1946) as examples, one finds that, regardless of party, the membership of the Committees in both houses was drawn overwhelmingly from Western or Indian minority populated states (99).

Thus in the Senate, 90% of the Democrats and 100% of the Republicans were representatives of states where Indians were fairly significant minority groups; in the House, the representation was Democrats, 90%, and Republicans, 86%.

> In view of their saturation with members elected by white majorities from Indian-minority-populated constituencies, one can better understand the Committees' frequent tendencies to work counter to the Bureau that promoted the interests of Indian minorities in the face of objections by local whites.

> The same applies to local, non-Indian interest groups. And one is not surprised to find that sectional, ethnic, and socio-economic interests tend to overshadow differences in party label among the members (99-100).
>
> ...The Senate Committee was observed to be more consistent than the House Committee in its hostile activity toward the Bureau's leaders and less inclined toward periodic cooperation with them in policy development...this was in part a function of greater stability in Senatorial membership... The average length of service on the Senate Committee by Democratic members during this period was 7.3 years, with four of the senior Western Democrats serving throughout the entire 14-year period and constituting most of the core or in-group of the Committee. The average length of service by Republican members...was 6.2 years, with one Republican serving the entire 14 years...In the House Committee no Democrats or Republicans served for the entire 14-year period, and respective average lengths of service were 4.3 and 3.3 years. In general, one might project the argument that stability of committee membership tends to lend a cohesiveness which contributes to enduring patterns of behavior in a sub-system (100-101).

In 1937, six bills were introduced in committee which would curtail the application of the Indian Reorganization Act or repeal it altogether; three bills which would have abolished the IRA for the Indians of Nevada (introduced by Senator McCarran), Montana (Senator Murray), and California (Senator McGroatry); Senator Chavez attempted to exclude the Navajo from being able to accept the Act; Representative O' Malley sought to repeal the section which gave preference to Indian employment in the BIA; and Senators Wheeler and Frazer attempted to abolish the IRA completely.

In 1939, hearings were held in both the Senate and the House on S.2103, a bill "to exempt certain Indians from the Wheeler-Howard Act" (which the Senate Committee passed favorably) and S.2206 "providing for the final discharge of Federal supervision over certain individual Indians, providing for final settlement of claims, determination of heirs, etc." Five years later, in 1944, further hearings were conducted in the Senate on S.1311, a bill "to remove the restrictions on Indian property" of those Indians (as veterans) who wished to be declared competent to manage their own affairs. That year, the Senate Committee also acted favorably on S.1218 "to repeal the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act". In addition, Senate report 310 received a great deal of attention; this report was a virulent attack on Commissioner Collier and the programs of the Bureau. In a nutshell, S. Rep. 310 proposed eliminating all programs and positions in the BIA--thereby eliminating the BIA.

The House Committee on Indian Affairs had not been inactive during this time; from March 1943 through December 1944, it conducted extensive hearings (1701 pages) on House resolution 166, "a bill to authorize and direct and conduct an investigation to determine whether the changed status of the Indian requires a revision of the laws and regulations affecting the American Indian". The Resolution was passed 200 to 100 and the investigation was held; it covered field trips to Indian reservations and lasted roughly four weeks. While not as unyieldingly harsh in its criticism of the BIA as the Senate, nevertheless the investigating committee's report was not generally approving.

There were other investigations involving Collier and the BIA. Beginning in 1928, a special Senate sub-committee had been authorized to "investigate Indian affairs" and for a period of many years it did so. The major work among Indians was apparently accomplished during the first six or seven years of its existence but:

> The special investigating subcommittee of the Senate...became a sounding board and a collection agency for all manner of charges against the Bureau and, indirectly, against the New Deal. This amazing legislative group had a life of 16 years, spanning nearly the entirety of the Hoover and Roosevelt regimes. Its last six years were marked especially by its affinity for charges of communism and corruption in the New Deal for Indians (Freeman:45).

Investigations and proposed bills to weaken or eliminate the IRA were not the only sources of attack upon Collier and the Bureau. Appropriations for many projects steadily dropped or were eliminated altogether.

> It seems that at least part of this situation was a consequence of a running battle between Bureau leaders and House Appropriations Subcommittee Chairman Jed Johnson, who reportedly liked to cut every item in the Bureau's appropriation by at least a few dollars in order to maintain a record of frugality. On the other hand Chairman Johnson made certain that the Bureau would not discontinue an Indian agricultural fair in his home state, even though similar functions elsewhere had been eliminated as a part of wartime economizing. Congressman Johnson so consistently pressed for lower budgets in the Indian Bureau and elsewhere in the Interior Department that finally Secretary Ickes reportedly recommended to the President that Johnson be appointed to a federal judgeship, thereby removing him from his position of influence over the policies of the Department and its bureaus. Before this occurred, however, Johnson and his subcommittee pressed the resignation of Commissioner Collier after some 12 years in office by threatening to hold up appropriations for the Bureau until Collier left the Commissionership (Freeman:102).

During the early years of the Collier administration, the Budget Bureau and the House Appropriations Committee had granted a large amount of emergency funds to the Bureau of Indian Affairs; these funds were appropriated in such a manner as to give a great deal of flexibility and discretion to the department handling them. But because of the growing hostility between Congress and the Bureau, funds were continually being reduced and were increasingly earmarked by the Budget Bureau for purposes from which there could be no deviation. The main criteria for appropriations were the number of children between six and eighteen who attended school, and, for the Health Division, the number of hospital beds. Pre-school child care, extension work and adult education funds were virtually eliminated during World War II. Those funds the Bureau did receive were rigidly fixed as to their use, to the point that a prize bull kept at one school on one reservation could not be transferred, even temporarily, to another school on a second reservation unless the second school literally bought the bull from the first school.

The apparent rationale for such a policy was control.

> ...the committee [House Appropriations] for some reason thinks that it exercises a stronger control by having all of these minutely designated appropriations--it wants to exercise a policy control and even an administrative control, and it thinks the way to do it is to keep our budget in this form (Collier *in* Hearings 1944:5).

In 1943, under the guise of a war-time economy move, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was ordered to move to Chicago by the Bureau of the Budget. And so the 250 people of the Indian Service Washington office moved to Chicago. Collier's

--or any Bureau staff member's--appearances at hearings were curtailed considerably and the Bureau's ability to learn of and discuss programs, bills, funds, etc., was greatly restricted; the BIA was even limited by the Budget Bureau in the time spent on long distance telephone calls.

In 1944, Collier resigned his post as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

TABLE III

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1938	1939	1943**	1945
Total (6 to 18)	100,678	102,440	101,638	103,641	86,747	86,668	96,336	98,577
Total enrolled (6 to 18)	76,096	76,264	80,434	82,531	65,166			
Public	43,988	45,678	48,522	50,328	33,645	36,558	34,613	32,330
Fed. day	6,315	7,474	9,505	10,609	13,797	14,268	21,559	19,690
Res. bd.	9,805	9,167	8,631	8,509	4,769	5,838	5,733	6,646
Non-res. bd.	7,426	5,429	5,125	4,192	5,412	4,823	5,611	5,667
Day-private	1,764	1,986	2,162	1,455	2,039	2,210	3,396	3,375
Bd.-private	6,200	6,117	5,998	6,543	4,936	4,618	3,617	3,967
Sanitoria	598	413	491	448	433	596	320	388
Special*				447	135	238	396	357
-6 +18	2,749	5,335	2,180	2,699	2,834	4,560	2,877	1,977
Not enrolled	12,062	14,623	14,540	13,855	10,290	11,642	14,471	19,807
Information not available	12,520	11,553	4,947	9,954	8,457	5,877	6,620	5,950

*Special includes the deaf, feeble-minded, blind, college students

Total	1949
	92,000 (continental United States) 10,457 (Alaska)
Public (6 to 18)	32,000
Federal (6 to 18)	27,000
Mission (6 to 18)	7,800
Information not available (6 tto 18)	6,000

** During and immediately following World War II, school attendance in all types of Bureau schools dropped. Older Indian boys and men teachers joined the armed forces in large numbers; the teaching staff for extension work, vocational-agricultural education, industrial arts, etc., was reduced considerably. In Indian high schools located near war-oriented industries, those students who did not join the services were employed as soon as they reached a minimum age level for employment. Indian parents withdrew their children from school when they (the parents) migrated to cities and off-reservation areas where they could be employed because of the labor shortage. The rubber and petroleum shortage, plus lack of funds to maintain roads, virtually halted school bus transportation of children to day schools, as busses and roads became non-repairable. By 1946, while attendance was still below pre-war levels, there were small increases in attendance in day schools (1946 as against 1945) and in off-reservation boarding schools (1946, 1945).

Summary and Evaluation

An evaluation of the educational programs developed by the Collier administration before World War II broke out in 1941 is an uncertain business, particularly when such an evaluation comes 30 years after the implementation of the programs and comes without actually talking to those people, Indian and white, involved. One must continually be aware of the goals of the programs themselves; much of the criticism the BIA was subjected to involved wide disagreements as to what the BIA was supposed to be doing and what the goals of BIA policy were. Those (including Indians themselves) who felt that the Bureau should be directing programs designed to assimilate Indians into white culture found much to object to in Collier's stated policy of teaching Indians to be self-sufficient Indians. Those who generally conceived of education to consist of reading, writing, and arithmetic had little patience with the BIA's programs of adult education, home economics and vocational-agricultural training.

In any evaluation of programs one must also be aware that critics of these programs (notably Congressmen) were often ignorant of the magnitude of the problems faced by the Bureau; these critics proposed simple answers to problems of sometimes staggering complexities. The debate over the apparently simple task of teaching a child to read, write and speak English is a case in point--the psychological and sociological problems involved apparently were ignored by those who felt that the BIA was not doing its job.

Yet many of the criticisms of the BIA were valid in the light of one question--were Indians more capable of assuming responsibility for their own self-support and being freed of any "guardianship" of the Federal Government. Had the educational policies and activities of the Collier administration furthered this goal?

In statistical terms, the Collier administration had succeeded rather well (Table III). Yet in spite of such gains, there were an increasing number of complaints in and to Congress concerning educational practices in the BIA. The House Committee to Investigate Indian Affairs (House Report 2091) considered the following to be the main problems in educating Indians:

> The inadequacies existing in Indian education grew out of such factors as the following rather than from inadequate school equipment and insufficient teachers; (a) Irregular and indifferent school attendance on the part of many Indian children; (b) inferior and impossible home conditions to which many Indian children are compelled to return after school hours and during summer vacation; (c) courses of study which fail either to equip an Indian child to practice, successfully, a vocation or to inspire and equip him to seek higher education; (d) a tendency in many reservation day schools to "adapt the education to the Indian and to his reservation way of life" rather than to "adapt the Indian to the habits and requirements he must develop to succeed as an independent citizen earning his own way off the reservation"; (e) inadequate opportunity for Indian students to secure standard high-school education and training in junior and senior colleges or universities so that the Indian can develop talented leaders of his own race and so that able Indian students can enter the professions or secure advanced vocational training (Hearings 1944:340).

To alleviate these problems, the Committee made several recommendations. It suggested that all reservation grade schools and high schools "be so operated" as to assure that the graduates of these schools could enter a public high school at the completion of eight years' work or a state college or university upon completion of 12 years' course work. Compulsory attendance regulations should be enforced either by tribal, local, state, and/or federal school officials. Scholarships, loans, etc., should be provided for students who wished to attend college or other institutions of higher learning. Junior colleges for Indian students should be established to prepare students for adaptation to white colleges and universities or for further training in earning a living. The Bureau needed more uniformity of curricula between reservations, with a major goal to be the reading, writing, and speaking of English; "at present there is too much variation and too many discrepancies among the courses of study used on the different reservations and even among the schools of a single reservation" (341).

Perhaps the strongest recommendation of the special committee was that which educators in the BIA would have opposed most strongly.

> 5) The Indian Bureau is tending to place too much emphasis on the day school located on the Indian reservation as compared with the opportunities afforded Indian children in off-the-reservation boarding schools where they can acquire an education in healthful and cultural surroundings without the handicap of having to spend their out-of-school hours in tepees, in shacks with dirt floors and no windows, in tents, in wickiups, in hogans, or in surroundings where English is never spoken, where there is a complete lack of furniture, and where there is sometimes an active antagonism or an abysmal indifference to the virtues of education.

> If real progress is to be made in training the Indian children to accept and appreciate the white man's way of life, the children of elementary school age who live in violently substandard homes on reservations should be encouraged to attend off-the-reservation boarding schools where they can formulate habits of life equipping them for independent citizenship when they reach maturity (340).

This last paragraph carries much of the ideological differences of opinion between John Collier and his Bureau staff and members of Congress. Collier found dignity and an enriching set of spiritual values in the poverty; Beatty and Ryan felt that the security and warmth of home and family were more important than the material well-being of institutionalized living; but Congress saw only the shacks with dirt floors, dirty blankets, and lack of furniture. Collier's belief was that the values and beliefs of Indian life could enrich American culture and he felt that Indians, once self-supporting, could retain and pass on their heritage; Congress saw that the Indian must be assimilated into the white populace and into white culture, both because it was the only way by which Indians could become self-sufficient, and because they believed white culture was simply better. The melting pot idea was predominent in Congress (and in most of America); Collier's ideas of the value of cultural differences and of the later-designated tag of "cultural pluralism" were in the minority.

IV. The Interim Years

William Brophy, Legislation, and Congressional Opinion

At the Senate hearings in which the nomination of William A. Brophy was approved, one of the more "underground" objections to Collier as Commissioner came out--Collier had the galling tendency to ignore Congressional direction and act on his own, often to the point of persuading the President to veto a bill passed by Congress which he (Collier) felt would be detrimental to Indians.

> To give concrete illustrations, in the last year or two the courts have set aside some acts of Congress, and the effect of those decisions voided many land titles in my State. Now, Senator Moore and I joined in suggesting legislation to correct those land titles. This committee acted favorably upon those bills, two of them, the Senate passed the bills three times, and they went to the House of Representatives, and there the Indian Office voiced a protest against the passage of those bills, and the bills in the first instance never got out of the committee in the House, and the last time they were placed as an amendment, or three amendments, to a House bill. The matter went to conference, and because of the opposition of the Indian Bureau the conferees did not meet until the last few days of the last session, and in the agreement on those three amendments the House would not agree to one of them because the Indian Bureau objected, and they finally agreed on two of the amendments, and it was too late then to get action.
>
> So it is all-important here, in my mind, as to the attitude of the Indian Bureau toward the wishes of Congress. There is no need for the Congress to pass legislation if the legislation is going to be vetoed by the Department.
>
> Now, you might say that cannot be done, but here is a procedure. If the Congress passes a bill it goes to the President for his signature. Pursuant to a custom of long standing, the President refers that bill to the Secretary of the Interior, because the Indian Office is under the Secretary of the Interior. If the Secretary is advised by the Indian Bureau that the bill should not be signed then there is a veto message and

> the President sends it down to Congress, and the Congress cannot do a thing about it (Senator Thomas in Hearings 1945:10).

In Brophy, the Senate committee hoped to find a man who would develop his policy in accord with directives from Congress, not in spite of it (1945:11).

> Senator Hatch. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt just a moment? I think Mr. Brophy had given an answer which is highly interesting to the committee on this particular subject, and I just wondered whether the committee got what he said about following out and administering and carrying on the policies as laid down by Congress.
>
> The Chairman. I was just about to call attention to that.
>
> Senator Hatch. What are your ideas on that, Mr. Brophy?
>
> Mr. Brophy. Well, sir, I have no reservations whatsoever. I think the function and purpose of an official who is in an executive department, no matter what kind of a man he is, is to carry out the law as it is written, and the spirit and intent of it.
>
> The Chairman. Would it be your purpose, if you were confirmed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to work with Congress, and not around Congress?
>
> Mr. Brophy. Well, sir, I look at it--I do not know whether I am right or not--as a sort of partnership, when you get right down to it, because Congress makes the policies, and they have to be carried out; if an executive does not carry them out, he ought to get fired.
>
> The Chairman. Well, would it be your policy to work with Congress?
>
> Mr. Brophy. Oh, of course. Definitely.
>
> The Chairman. And carry out the congressional policy?
>
> Mr. Brophy. Definitely. I do not think that a man could take the oath and not do it.

Objections to Brophy were based on one of three factors. Various Indians and Indian groups had no quarrel with Brophy in terms of character or intent, but felt that it was time for an Indian to be Commissioner and that Indians should have a voice in the nomination of a candidate for the office. A lesser number of whites and Indians (judging at least by the number of telegrams sent to members of the committee) protested Brophy's appointment because of his association with the BIA under Collier, and because his wife, Dr. Sophie Aberle had been superintendent of the Pueblo district under Collier. (This point was raised as an issue, though I am not sure of what relevance it was--the Pueblos did not appear to object to Brophy's nomination.) The Navajo and various friends of the Navajo objected to Brophy on the grounds that "he did not have the confidence of the Navajo" because he had been the attorney for various Pueblo groups in suits against the Navajo.

The Senate committee frankly found the two latter arguments somewhat irrelevant, and the first, since the Senate could only pass on nominations and could not actually nominate a man for office, out of their hands. Brophy's nomination was approved unanimously by the committee March 2, 1945, and by the Senate four days later.

Brophy was a lawyer from New Mexico. His acquaintanceship with Indians began as a junior member of the law firm of Hanna and Wilson, a firm that had handled work for the Pueblos for many years. In 1934, Brophy was appointed by the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior as a part-time special attorney for the Pueblo Indians in Albuquerque. His work with the Pueblos in this position dealt largely with land

and water disputes, ordinances, and "their disputes among themselves" (7). In 1942, Secretary of the Interior Ickes appointed Brophy to work on Puerto Rican affairs in Washington and Puerto Rico, a position he held until his nomination as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Brophy's familiarity with Indians and Indian problems was enhanced by his wife's position as superintendent for the United Pueblos Agency from 1933 to 1944.

Brophy made few changes in personnel when he took office. Instead he directed his main efforts to the reorganization of the administrative structure of the Bureau, rather than reorganization of the administrative staff. The Bureau returned to Washington and in 1946, a general reorganization of the field setup was undertaken. Instead of more than 40 field offices throughout the country, five regional offices at Minneapolis, Minnesota; Billings, Montana; Portland, Oregon; Phoenix, Arizona; and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, were established. In general, this reorganization was carried out for economic reasons and to

> ...increase administrative effectiveness...This decentralization of authority from the central office [in Washington] and the concentration of technical services in the district offices was expected to cause on-the-ground teamwork which would result in greater uniformity, since these needs are often not essentially local but are identical or similar over large, contiguous areas (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1946:352).

There were other developments. A bill was passed which enabled the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to delegate authority and decision-making powers to personnel in the field; previously even the most routine matters had been referred to the Commissioner and/or the Secretary for their signatures, resulting in great delays in transactions and frustrating both reservation officials and Indians. Budgetary procedures were consolidated, so that all appropriations were handled under 29 titles instead of 116, and these titles were organized by major activity, not item by item.

Also of major importance was the passage, after more than half a century of debate on similar bills, of the Indian Claims Commission Act (H.R. 4497, P.L. 87-48) in August 1946. The Commission itself was to be composed of three men and was to continue in existence for ten years, after which, Congress felt, all Indians' claims against the United States would have been heard and the Commission would cease to exist. The Commission was given the authority to hear claims in five categories:

> 1) claims in law or equity; 2) tort claims; 3) claims based on fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or unilateral mistake; 4) claims based on the taking of lands without payment of the agreed compensation; 5) claims based on fair and honorable dealings not recognized by existing rules of law or equity (Fey and McNickle 1959:105).

The Claims Commission Act was amended in 1956 and again in 1962, both times to extend the life of the Commission by five years. By 1964, only 20% of the claims against the government had been brought before the Court, with nearly $95 million being awarded. In 1966, the Commission's life was extended once again.

There was reorganization outside of the BIA also. Under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the duties of both the Senate and the House Committees on Indian Affairs were assumed by the respective Committees on Public Lands. In 1948, the Senate Committee on Public Lands became the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and in 1951, the House Committee structure followed suit. Interestingly, the Committees on Indian Affairs continued as sub-committees, a practice which occurred with the majority of standing committees. Thus the active units in Congress were not reduced, merely renamed (Freeman:1965).

Brophy's term of active directorship in office was relatively brief. Sometime in 1947, he contracted tuberculosis while investigating conditions in Alaska, and although he did not resign from the position of Commissioner, he was unable to direct the activities of the Bureau. William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner under both Collier and Brophy, became Acting Commissioner until 1948, when John Nichols was appointed to the post. In general the time between 1946 and 1950 was a time of hesitancy in terms of policy-making, partially because Zimmerman, who was the most experienced person in the position, had little authority to make decisions as Acting Commissioner.

The years immediately following the war and the election of a new president saw a return of Congressional interest to domestic affairs in general, and judging by the increased number of hearings concerning various aspects of Indian affairs, conditions among Indians received a fair share of that interest. Generally, Congressional opinion was critical of the BIA, although the virulent attacks on the Bureau under Collier were modified considerably. Congress was clearly in a mood of patriotic pride for America and the American way of life, and the theme running through many hearings was that the Bureau was not pursuing the goal of assimilating Indians to the American way of life actively enough. The Congressmen deplored the situation that found that, even though the Bureau had been in existence for 75 years, there was still poverty and illiteracy among Indians, and many Indians still clung to their Indian way of life.

In the late 40's the viewpoint that the goal of the BIA was to assimilate Indians formed the central point around which many Congressional hearings on bills and programs revolved. Such bills as the Indian Claims Commission Act and the program for the "rehabilitation" of the Navajo and the Hopi received favorable reports in committee because the committee members felt that passage of the bills would hasten the day when Federal responsibility over Indians would end. This trend toward the "termination of federal responsibility" continued in Congress and pressure on the BIA to direct its activities toward termination grew more intense. The issuance of fee patents and the sale of alloted land were two indications of the growing pressure in Congress for the assimilation of the American Indian. There was also the factor of the changing attitudes and experiences of Indians themselves. An increased demand for land and rising land prices resulted in the desire of many Indians to sell their land allotments and so take advantage of these high prices. Veterans returning from the war asked the justifiable question of why they had fought for democracy and the United States abroad if upon returning home they could not dispose of their land allotments as they wished, and they were not treated as other citizens while living on their reservations. Pressure by Indians and by whites on committee members, particularly in the House, led to six bills (three in the 79th Congress and three in the 80th) which would "remove restrictions on Indian property and emancipate the Indian". In addition, the issuance of fee patents rose to a degree that alarmed both Brophy and Zimmerman.

> Under existing law the Secretary of the Interior may issue fee patents or remove restrictions against sales, if he finds that such action by him is in the Indian interest. In response to the increasing demand, the Indian Service has attempted conscientiously to discover in each case if the granting of a fee patent would benefit the applicant and if the sale of a given tract could be allowed without destroying the efforts of others to consolidate their holdings into economic units. These efforts to comply with the requests of allottees for fee patents while safeguarding other Indian interests are brought to nothing at times by the enactment of legislation requiring the Secretary to issue fee patents. When such legislation is adopted without regard to the total problem of land needs at a given Indian reservation, every advance made in the last 15 years is threatened.
>
> Some isolated Indian holdings can be sold, without endangering the economy of an entire community. Where this possibility exists, fee patents are being issued or restrictions against sale are being removed. However, unless the Nation is prepared to pauperize the Indian people, discretion must continue to be exercised in issuing patents-in-fee, and that discretion to be effective must be lodged in a

> responsible official.
>
> More fee patents were issued during the last fiscal year that in any one year since 1933. The total of 423 patents included 23 which the Secretary of the Interior was directed to issue in private bills adopted by Congress. The area covered by these patents amounted to 67,000 acres. In addition orders removing restrictions were issued covering an additional 35,000 acres, and this latter total is exclusive of the lands on which restrictions were removed by operation of present laws in the Five Tribes area of Oklahoma.
>
> The rate at which patents are being issued is evidently accelerating. Thus, in the first six months of 1947, patents covering 26,000 acres were allowed, while in the first four months of 1948, a total area of 36,000 acres was involved. (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1948:380-81).

Zimmerman and others within the Bureau argued consistently against too-rapid an end of federal responsibility, but without the actual authority of the position of Commissioner and without strong political backing from the administration, Zimmerman could only hold the line against the sentiments of Congress. The time had come for a change of policy in the BIA.

With the appointment of Dillon Myer in 1950, and his successor, Glenn Emmons, those who favored termination found Commissioners who agreed with their viewpoint. In 1953, with the passage of House Joint Resolution 108, the House of Representatives gave public sanction to termination policies and recommended that the BIA turn over the problem of "the Indian" to the states as rapidly as possible.

Educational Philosophy and Programs

As mentioned, the educational staff in Washington remained largely the same after Collier's resignation; significant changes in personnel did not occur until after the appointment of Dillon Myer. But goals of educational policy shifted, and Collier's objectives were quietly discarded in the face of an "assimilation-minded" Congress. Vocational-agricultural education was shifted to a position of secondary importance in favor of a "college prep" course, though I suspect the shift was more philosophical than real. For the first time, statistical and educational surveys were conducted to ascertain whether or not Bureau schools were managing to educate Indian children. And for the first time to any extensive degree, the Navajo themselves perceived schools and teachers as desirable and owed to the Navajo people by the Federal Government.

The shift in attitude was summed up in the title of the second collection of articles from _Indian Education_, i.e., _Education for Cultural Change_. Beatty noted the philosophy behind the title in his preface to the book.

> Over the last 15 years the adherence to traditional patterns and resistance to change that was characteristic of many adult Indians has given way to a recognition that the richest future for Indians of the United States lies in mastery of the material culture of the dominant race. Without sacrificing racial pride or identification with their Indian past, Indian parents and pupils are determined to gain from education a mastery of the English language and of the manual and intellectual skills of their white brethren...
>
> But for an Indian child brought up in an Indian

> home, mastery of the Three R's is not enough. He must be taught all those elements in cultural behavior that will permit his easy transition from life among reservation Indians, to life among urban non-Indians. For most of us, cultural adaptations are learned at home through unconscious imitation of our elders. The Indian school must identify the cultural elements of white society, and consciously and deliberately teach them within the school. To avoid the creation of tensions and emotional conflicts, it is essential to preserve respect for the mores of Indian life, while teaching the ways of the white man. Neither is necessarily "better"--familiarity with both is essential to today's Indian youth. Older Indian schools which ridiculed and repressed all expressions of Indian life tended to warp and distort the personalities of their students, and bred resistance to and suspicion of the white man's school in the minds of Indian parents.
>
> Today, teachers and parents alike, recognize that the Indian school is a vehicle for cultural change--and that that aspect of education is fully as important to the pupils as the teaching of the English language and the content subjects (1953:10-11).

The belief that the direction of BIA policy should be to assimilate Indian peoples was reflected in educational policy by an increased emphasis on placing Indian children in public schools. The criticism that Bureau schools were not offering the same courses to Indian children that public schools offered to white children continued to be expressed by Congressmen and Indians; it was continually argued that Indian children from Bureau schools were behind children of the same grade in public schools, and that Indian school graduates were not accepted by colleges. Congress made clear its belief that these problems could be remedied either by requiring that BIA schools teach the state curriculum or that Indian children be enrolled in public schools. This latter point had the additional favorable aspect that the state would then "assume its share of the responsibility" for the education of people living within its state--which meant that the state, not the Federal Government, would pay for the education of Indian children.

Zimmerman, as Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Beatty accepted the principle that the majority of Indian children should attend public schools, and by 1948, contracts covering Federal financial assistance to individual states had been negotiated with Oklahoma, Washington, Wisconsin, Montana, North Dakota, California, Oregon, Minnesota, Arizona, and Nevada. The amount of Federal money was variable, depending on the ability of the local tax district to support schools, but in no case were the states allowed to reduce state support to the local district.

Returning veterans were eligible for the benefits offered other veterans. On-the-farm training programs were established in cooperation with the Veteran's Administration and Indian or public schools, in which veterans who owned or leased farms received classroom and on-the-farm instruction by agricultural experts. Vocational training programs for industry were also expanded under the Veteran's Administration--courses included carpentry, painting, plumbing, electrical work, automobile mechanics, and "arts and crafts".

It is maliciously interesting to note that Congress often worked against its own ends. As a result of the reorganization of the Bureau and subsequent reduction in operating funds, the Bureau found it necessary to eliminate the position of education field agent.

> These are the Indian Service men who have encouraged Indian attendance at public schools and who have advised public school teachers and supervisors of specific Indian needs to the end that the public school program might be more effective. Although the loss of these employees has been reflected temporarily in lower public school attendance, the responsibility for maintaining Indian attendance in available public schools properly rests on the State and local officials (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1948:384).

Yet despite the increased attempts to encourage enrollment in public schools, neither Zimmerman nor Beatty saw either public schools or a state-approved curriculum as the answers Congress thought them to be, and in both hearings and editorials in Indian Education, pointed out the drawbacks to simplified answers. The belief that the BIA schools should follow courses set by the states in which the schools were located was an annoying one for Beatty. By 1945, all Bureau schools had been accredited in their respective states, and in 1947, Beatty commented that "for the last dozen years, graduates of every Indian high school in the United States have been accepted by the public colleges of their states, whenever they have been recommended by their high school principal or superintendent as intellectually competent to do college work" (187). At times, colleges requested that graduates of Indian schools make up two or three courses that had not been offered in the Bureau school before admission to the college; this delay in acceptance resulted in disappointment and a critical opinion of Bureau schools.

Mr. Gorman. An accredited school; yes. We are

> very strong on that accredited-school thing because we know of so many cases on the reservation where a child had great ambitions to finish high school and enter the university, but was very much disappointed and discouraged because to their surprise when they finished high school and tried to enter the university they were told they could not be permitted to enter when they went there. They were told that they lacked maybe two or three subjects, that they had to take postgraduate courses, which naturally was very discouraging. That is the kind of thing that we are up against (Hearings 1948:291).

In 1948, the Education Division published a book entitled In Step with the States, A Comparison of State and Indian Service Educational Objectives and Methods. The purpose of the book was to show how closely the aims of the various state departments of education paralleled those stated by the Bureau of Indian Education and so give a concrete published reply to critics of the Bureau curriculum.

> Twenty years ago, when the Indian Service first began to demand that the curricula of its schools be planned locally in terms of local needs, this proposal involved a break with many state courses then in effect. The Education Division of the Indian Service, in touch with the best thinking of the time, pioneered in demanding an adaptable curriculum in rural schools. As these locally tailored programs were developed in school after school of the Indian Service, many state administrators publicly expressed the hope that their own public schools might eventually achieve a similar freedom. The day is now here when the courses of study of the states within which the Indian Service operates, recommend to their local schools the flexibility already achieved in the service...
>
> By many, a state course of study is thought of as something which is exact and inflexible, and which can be used to force uniformity on all schools. Actually, few state courses of study adopted within the last fifteen years pretend to be any such thing. As will be discovered from the summaries contained in this

> book, the first warning found in most state courses today, is that "the curriculum should be built around needs of pupils which arise in their interaction with culture", or some similar statement inviting a free adaptation of the state syllabus to local needs...
>
> The title of this volume is at once its conclusion. The Indian Service educational objectives and its teaching methods are In Step with The States. To the extent that curriculum making has been deliberately decentralized, we are following the best advice that state departments are giving their own local schools. To the extent that we believe that more is learned from doing than from listening to some one talk or by reading from a book, divorced from activity, we are advocating an activity type of teaching which finds acceptance in all the states. To the extent that we advocate learning to speak and think in English before trying to read--we are in step with what is recommended by every state which faces the problem of bilingual education...
>
> Lastly, it should be stated that all federal Indian elementary schools are accredited--and all federal Indian high schools are accredited, by the states within which they operate. Accreditation, of course, simply means that the curricula of the schools, the physical equipment of the school plants, and the teachers employed meet the quality standards of the state department of education. In many states, the college diploma with professional work in education required by Federal Civil Service, exceeds the requirements for teaching in elementary rural public schools (Beatty 1948:7-8).

Approximately 80% of Indian children did not speak English when entering school, and without trained instruction in English, few Indian children progressed in other areas of formal education. BIA school teachers were trained to teach English to non-English speaking children, while the great majority of public school teachers were not.

> Mastery of spoken English is a basic necessity if children are to begin to think in English.

> It is thus fundamental to all later teaching and the time spent to insure such mastery is time well invested. When a child enters school unable to speak English it is foolish to talk about his being able to progress in school at the rate of his English-speaking associates.
>
> When Indian parents or others cite the number of years an Indian child has been attending school and are then critical of his inability to match academic skills with non-Indians who have had the same amount of time in school, it is well to find out whether or not the child spoke English adequately when he entered school. If he did not, the criticism is without foundation--and that fact should be explained. Also, it is important to know whether the Indian child was regular in attendance. While all the evidence supports the conclusion that Indian native intelligence equals that of non-Indians--there is no reason to believe that an Indian child can progress as well as a non-Indian if he spends only a fraction as much time in the classroom.
>
> Increasingly, in various parts of the country, Indian children in Federal schools who start with a knowledge of English are finding it possible to transfer, without difficulty, to public schools without losing any time.
>
> Non-English-speaking Indian children entering the average public schools are at an even greater disadvantage than those entering Federal school. Most public school teachers lack the techniques to facilitate rapid learning of English, and the children must depend largely on help from their English speaking Indian associates. Indians are often too shy to ask for or to offer such help. The records show a much higher proportion of non-English-speaking Indian children dropping out of the lower grades of public schools, where many such children attend, than is trre of reservation day schools (1953:176).

Beatty noted other areas which the BIA personnel and schools were more equipped, by experience and training, to handle. The types of homes that Indian children came from were not those of middle class America, and the differences in background often presented major problems for both whites and Indians.

> Indian families have lived in poverty, which deprives them of the advantages of running water, plentiful amounts of good foods, and good clothes. So Indian children come to school dirty, with lice in their hair, and often with the skin diseases which are the ear-marks of dirt, poverty or malnutrition. Extreme poverty and bad housing have also increased the number of Indians who suffer from tuberculosis, just as it has resulted in a similar high incidence of the disease among slum-dwelling whites and Negroes in both the city and rural slums. It doesn't take much gossip about sick and dirty Indian children, to arouse the parents of their white school fellows to demand segregation of the Indian children--or where that is not possible, to bring enough pressure to bear on teachers and school authorities, so that the attendance of Indian children is discouraged.
>
> Indian schools encounter the same problems, but the Federal schools are equipped to deal with these problems, and teachers in Indian schools are trained to combat these difficulties constructively. Shower baths, clean clothing, head cleaning by teachers or field nurses, good nourishing noon meals, cod liver oil, and home visits to teach Indian parents what is expected, and economic help to enable them to do what other parents are able to do, soon establish standards of school attendance by Indian children which equal those of the average public school (177).

In favorable circumstances, however, Beatty encouraged the trend in which Indian children attended school with whites. "Favorable circumstances" were those school situations in which there was little or no race prejudice on the part of either white or Indian parents, where the school offered special courses in English, where there were English-speaking Indian children already enrolled and accepted in the school, or where there were Bureau personnel available to aid both children and parents in eliminating causes of complaints from white parents, particularly those complaints stemming from charges that Indians were dirty and/or unhealthy.

> ...the value to the public school lies primarily in the day by day association of Indian children with white children--in the classroom, on the play-ground, on the school busses, and frequently in out-of-school hours. This means that Indian children, and usually their parents also, have continuing occasion to use the English language. Such children have a head start when they enter school, over the Indian child who has grown up in a home where the native language is the only one he hears. Language is not the only advantage. An Indian child playing day by day with white children quickly absorbs white culture patterns, without realizing that these may be in conflict with those of his own people--simply aware of the fact that when in a group with whites, there is a generally accepted way of behaving. Every school child, white or Indian, early learns that there is a way of acting at school among people of his own age, that may differ considerably from the way he acts at home with his family. So the Indian child isn't facing anything much different from the common experience of all school children (178).

Beatty and many of his staff members were remarkably aware of the subtleties of learning the behavior patterns of another culture. In articles written in Indian Education between 1945 and 1951, he repeatedly attempts to convey the problems involved in teaching Indian children those patterns of behavior acceptable in white culture. Such things as personal cleanliness, pressed clothing, the use of a knife and fork, how to use a shower, terms of polite address, etc., were pointed out as the common, ordinary things a white child learns before he or she is ever enrolled in a school. Indian children, however, of a totally different background, must be taught these rather mundane behavior patterns if they were to be accepted by and move into the white world.

> All of this instruction presumes certain experiential learning outside of the school, upon which the school's instruction can be based. The average public school takes for granted that certain things and certain experiences exist within every child's background...Unfortunately, there is no easy measure of the degree of sophistication which has been achieved by any pupil when he enters school. There seems to be an inescapable tendency upon the part of adults to assume a far greater assimilation of the basic culture patterns than is often the case. Many habits of thinking and acting have been practiced so continuously as to be thought of by many people as "instinctive" or at least "ordained". Such customs are no longer recognized as learned experiences. We forget entirely that the period of youth is spent, by a majority of children, in learning these particular reactions to situations in which they find themselves involved with adults. ...So firmly fixed in our thinking is this assumption that children will acquire the basis of proper behavior within the home that it is exceedingly difficult for a teacher to adjust her mind to the fact that some or all of her pupils may not have made that adjustment. She has set a minimum level of personal adjustment beneath which it is inconceivable to her that any pupils should fall, and she struggles unwillingly against a recognition of the fact that some of her pupils indeed fall below this minimum. The problem in many of our Indian schools is that the minimum of "common culture", to which our Indian pupils are accustomed, is so far below what is taken for granted with the average child brought up in a non-Indian American home, that few teachers ever reach the Indian child's level, even in imagination. This is not said in criticism of the Indian child or the Indian home, but is an attempt to explain a fact, the recognition of which is fundamental to success in teaching Indian children (241-43).

The objective of bringing Indian children into white culture is rather obvious in this series of editorials and articles, but such objectives were secondary when considered with regard to Beatty's main goal--to give Indians the education which would allow them to be self-supporting and thereby self-respecting. For many this meant absorption into white culture; for the majority, at least, for years to come, this meant vocational-agricultural education planned with respect to the desires of the individual and the needs of the community. But the community, or at least those of the community who would hire BIA-trained Indians, were white. Therefore, Indians must learn some of the behavior patterns of whites if they were to get jobs or were to work with whites.

In addition to simply training Indian students for some type of work, the Bureau wished to operate a two-fold "placement and follow up" plan developed to some extent under the pressures of the labor requirements of World War II. Contacts were made with various industries--Fred Harvey Restaurants (for girls) and airline, automobile, and steamship companies, in which the company specified the type of skills required and the schools taught those skills on something of a made-to-order basis.

> The best group of manufacturers are the airplane companies and the steamship companies. They tell us what they want and the skills they should have and what the attitude of the worker should be and the kind of work they expect him to do. We approach it as a tailored-to-measure proposition (Beatty _in_ Hearings 1948:206-07).

The first aspect of this particular program (actually volunteer labor since there were no funds or an official position for this type of work) was to establish contacts with the industry to fill positions; the second aspect was to arrange living and working conditions and follow up any problems encountered so that once given a job, an Indian would be happy to remain in it.

> Mr. D'Ewart. Do these young people stay there?
>
> Mr. Beatty. The answer to that is "yes" and "no". The working conditions determine whether he stays, not the salary. If we were successful in our efforts, and in many cases we want to find a place for them to live, so we try to get a group together in small rented houses where they have a home of their own and where there is an Indian kid and his wife. If we can locate half a dozen families in two or three companies and they work where they are respected and treated courteously and not abused, they will stay, and we are doing things they recognize as valuable.
>
> That is true in Michigan with our Sioux Indians and others. The Nevada go to Los Angeles and San Diego, but if they cannot find a comfortable place to live and get into a concern that pushes them around and cusses them, they cannot keep them (207).

Here, as in the Navajo program to be discussed later, there was a strong awareness that job training was not the sole answer to providing the means by which Indians would be persuaded to move off the reservations. They had to be made welcome in a new social and physical environment; this involved the teaching of white behavior patterns, and, in many cases, a certain amount of follow-up work which would help an Indian and his family adjust to the problems they faced in a new environment. Getting an Indian a job, then letting him sink or swim generally meant that the Indian sank--and went back home.

In 1943, partially due to the continuing criticism of the Bureau school system, the Education Division arranged a contract with the Department of Education of the University of Chicago to direct a "study of Indian school achievement" which would measure whether or not the children in Federal schools were learning "the essential subject matter of the public school curricula of the several states, and were or were not gaining the vocational, health, and social adjustment goals designed to bring them abreast of the public school children who were being raised in typical American non-Indian homes" (Beatty 1953:xi).

The University of Chicago staff (the Bureau was located in Chicago at this time, it might be remembered) under the direction of Ralph Tyler first looked for "commercial" tests of reading, arithmetic, and language which might be of use in rural areas; secondly, they began to devise tests of their own which would measure "aspects of the Indian school program which were not common to the average public school" (xii). Under the administration of Dr. Shailer Peterson, these tests were given to all students in the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades in selected Bureau schools, and to pupils in the same grades of "cooperating" mission and public schools during 1945 and 1946.

The original plan had been to give the tests to the 8th and 12th grades in 1950, but with the intervention of World War II, many 8th grade pupils who might have been expected to show up four years later became diverted to wartime jobs. Therefore the Bureau felt that those tests conducted in 1950, this time under the direction of Kenneth Anderson and E. Gordon Collister of the University of Kansas, were not as complete a comparison as the Bureau would have liked.

The results of the tests were published in two monographs. The first monograph, covering the first test series of 1945-46, was entitled How Well Are Indian Children Educated? (Peterson, 1948); the second monograph was called The Educational Achievement of Indian Children (Anderson & Collister, 1953). In general, the tests confirmed what Beatty and other educators had been realizing as educated guesses--that educational achievement, in white middle class terms, was closely related to the degree of experience an Indian child had had with a white middle-class background. The first series of tests were set up to answer specific questions raised by the Indian Service and by other interested parties (i.e., Congressmen, other citizens). Specifically the Bureau wished to know if:

There had been progress in Indian education since the 1928 Meriam Report;

there was any difference in educational achievement among Indian children attending different types of government, public, and private schools;

there was any difference between Indians and non-Indians in rural public schools;

there was any difference among students at different grade levels, particularly the lower grades and high school;

there was any difference in achievement among different geographic areas of the country.

In addition to these "statistical achievement" tests there were questions asked as to cultural and physical background--the degree of Indian blood, the amount of education of parents, the language spoken in the home, the stability of the home (determined by whether a child lived with one parent or both, or with other relatives), the number of children attending schools of various types in urban areas of over 500, the kinds of friends (white or Indian) a child associated with in and out of school, the age of and number of years of school attendance of a child in relation to grade placement, size of school, daily school attendance, sex, and academic ambition. These latter questions were designed to answer the general question of what relationship existed between "these measures of cultural background and school achievement" (1953:14).

Test results indicated several things specifically.

1) There had been substantial progress in Indian education since the publication of the Meriam Report.

> While 42% of the Indian children had been retarded four or more years in 1928, by 1946, this percentage had been reduced to 6%. For the 21% who had been not more than one year retarded in 1928, Peterson found this proportion to have increased to 64% in 1946. As at least one-third of the children in Federal schools continue to enter the first grade without any knowledge of English, at least a year of retardation is not surprising (Beatty 1953:xiv).

2) Indian children who attended public schools with whites did better on the tests than did Indian children in other types of schools. Other boarding schools ranked, in descending order of pupil achievement: non-reservation boarding, mission, reservation boarding, and day schools.

3) In rural public schools Peterson (1948) found "a slight difference in favor of the Indians in some tests; a slight

difference in favor of non-Indians on others" (xv). In the 1950 series, non-Indians did better in all tests over Indians.
4) In the 1946 series, fourth graders did significantly better than both eighth and twelfth graders, indicating that "better teaching had caused the better results" (xv).
5) Differing geographical areas of the United States turned in differing results. Among eighth grade students, the mean rank for all 12 tests resulted in a rank order, from best performances to poorest, of Alaska, Oklahoma, Mountain, Navajo, Dakota, Pacific, Southeast, Pueblo, Southwest. Among 12th grade students, the rank order was Alaska, Mountain, Oklahoma, Pacific, Dakota, Southwest, Southeast, Navajo, and Pueblo. Of course, individual children exceeded or fell below the achievement level of the geographic area they were in. However, the researchers of the 1950 study felt that there was more correlation between the type of school attended, which in turn was related to the cultural background and opportunity of the child.

The cultural background data suggested trends, and to some degree, defined the role of government schools. In general, the following characteristics stood out:

A) Nearly all students in the Southwest are full-blood Indians.

B) There is a larger percentage of mixed bloods in non-reservation schools than in any other type of government school.

C) Peterson concluded in 1946 that children coming from homes in which parents had received "considerable" education tended to remain in school longer than children from homes where parents had had little or no schooling. The 1950 series neither confirmed nor denied Peterson's conclusion, but the survey team of 1950 did note that parents of children in public schools had had more schooling than parents of children in any other type of school.

D) Students in day schools spoke English at home less frequently than did students attending other types of schools; students in public schools spoke the greatest amount of English in the home.

> It will be noted that the students in day schools come from homes in which less English is spoken than do the students in any of the other types of Indian schools. As would be expected, the public school children have by far the greatest amount of English spoken in their homes. This is true for Indian students in public schools, as well as for whites in public schools. A much greater proportion of English is spoken in the homes of the twelfth grade students in Indian schools, and the proportion for the eighth grade is greater than that for the fourth grade. The language spoken in the home appears to be correlated with school achievement and also with the number of years the student remains in school (19).

E) While a greater percentage of white children were living with both parents than was true of Indian children, there was little correlation of achievement between Indian children who lived with parents and those who did not.

F) More white children lived in urban areas of over 500 population than did Indian children; more non-reservation boarding school pupils lived in this "over 500" range than pupils attending other types of schools. Whether the size of the school attended was an important factor in achievement was unknown; in the eighth grade, 75.4% of the Indian children and 88.6% of the white children attended schools of over 200.

G) Non-reservation boarding schools had the best record of average daily attendance (better than the daily attendance records of white children in public schools) while day school attendance records were poorest.

H)

> ...the percentages of students accelerated in the eighth and twelfth grades in 1946 were 4.5 per cent and 15.9 per cent respectively, as contrasted to 9.5 per cent and 17.3 per cent respectively in the 1950 study. However, the gain in acceleration in the eighth grade was offset by an increase in retardation, the percentage of retardation being 6.8 per cent in 1946 as contrasted to 13.2 per cent in 1950. In the twelfth grade in 1950, there was an increase in the percentage of students accelerated and in the expected age group and a decrease in the percentage of students retarded when compared with the values given in the 1946 study. Whether or not this trend represents a change in promotional policy or a dropping out of less capable students was not revealed by the information gathered.
>
> The percentage of students in the twelfth grade in the Indian schools in this study who were over 17.5 years was 82.8 per cent. Thus, it is apparent that the Indian students in the twelfth grade in this study were considerably retarded when compared with white students in typical public high schools. There are many reasons for this retardation, the chief one probably being the late entrance of many Indian students in school. Thus, any conclusions regarding the achievement of Indian students in the various schools with white children in public schools must be tempered by differences in the ages of students in relation to their grade placement (22-24).

Correlating the cultural background data with the achievement levels on the various tests, Beatty stated:

> It has become clear that there is considerable

> difference between the Indians living in different parts of the country. It is also clear that mixed-bloods often differ considerably from fullbloods --but not because of the infusion of blood from non-Indian parents. To the extent that the home environment and the language spoken in the home resemble that of the non-Indian community, the children coming from that home will resenble their non-Indian associates. To the extent that children live in a home where habits, traditions and beliefs are those of the Indian group, and one of the many Indian languages is spoken customarily, the children will find it more difficult to master the English language and to adjust to the culture patterns of non-Indian life. Cultural experience, not blood-quantum, influences assimilation; the confusion grows out of the fact that the two often go together (xiii).

Thus the more similar the cultural and educational backgrounds of Indian and white children were, the more closely did the educational achievements of Indian and white children correspond. Beatty used the results of the Peterson survey to justify the curriculum and the methods of teaching used in BIA schools. While the survey indicated that Indian students in public schools did perform better on achievement tests, it also indicated that those students attending public schools spoke English and had had a great deal of experience with white culture, while Indian students attending Bureau schools did not speak English upon entry or have much knowledge of the white culture they were supposed to take part in.

There were other publications of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Education Division; these were oriented toward the Bureau staff rather than toward the public at large. In 1946, the first edition of Minimum Essential Goals for Indian

Schools was published, covering grades one and two and preschool levels. A second volume, covering grades three through six, was published in 1949. The volume covering the high school grades appeared in 1953 and was based heavily on work and information gained during the Special Navajo Education Project.

In general, Minimum Essential Goals for Indian Schools set up both the objectives of education in the Bureau schools and suggested methods of procedure, and each elementary teacher was expected "to plan her teaching program for the year around the Minimum Essential Goals" (Beatty 1953:28).

The "goals" were a

> ...core of knowledge and skills which each student attending the Bureau schools should acquire. The goals were intended to permeate the entire curriculum, and to teach the basic language and cultural needs considered peculiar to the needs of children in Bureau schools. The goals were not a complete curriculum, but were intended to supplement and complement the curriculum which each school was to develop or adopt, according to regional needs and requirements (Hopkins in Thompson 1963:308).

However, children were expected to proceed in their learning ability by levels of achievement and not necessarily by grade level. Therefore the Minimum Essential Goals were outlined according to levels, and ability and achievement were recommended as the criteria by which to place children in their respective levels, not age or grade.

In addition, other books were published as staff and teaching guides. Suggested Books for Indian Schools was issued every two years and presented "titles of texts or library books which have been carefully evaluated by the supervisory staff, on the basis of appropriate content and vocabulary, for effective use in Indian Service classrooms" (28). A guide for advisors and matrons was issued in 1949, to complement the 1946 publication of *Guide for Cooks, Bakers, Housekeepers and Matrons*.

The Navajo Program

As mentioned frequently before, the Navajo constituted something of a special problem for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Congress. And so, during the post-War years, both the Bureau and Congress developed special programs in an attempt to solve the "Navajo problem".

Beginning in 1946, the Special Navajo Education Program was set up in an attempt to reach those 10,000 Navajo over 12 and under 17 who had never been to any school and were not likely to ever have a chance to obtain an education under normal circumstances. An estimated 18,000 Navajo children between six and eighteen were not enrolled in school and to quote Madison Coombs, the education specialist for the Project, "eighteen thousand Navajo children each had but one life to live and youth is fleeting. Delay would condemn them to a lifetime of ignorance, illiteracy, and inadequacy in the modern world" (1962:6). With this belief in mind, the project was very much a crash program with the goal of educating Navajo children who had never been to school to take a self-supporting place in the modern world off the reservation. The time alloted for schooling was five years, mainly because the educators felt that it would be difficult to keep a "child" in school for the traditional eight to twelve years if that "child" was going to reach his 20's before his schooling ended.

The overall goal of the program was to assimilate those participants into white culture. More specifically,

> The program would aim at three things; (a) to help the Navajo youth develop those social skills, habits, understandings, and values which would permit him to live effectively in non-Navajo culture, (b) to help him acquire the basic skills of using numbers and of speaking, understanding, reading, and writing the English language which he would need in living and earning a living in the non-Navajo world, and (c) to teach him a marketable vocational skill with which to make a living and support a family after graduation (19).

These goals were to be accomplished without demeaning the Navajo background of the child; "the job was to integrate the youngsters into a new milieu without bringing about personal disintegration; to avoid disruptive and damaging clevages between the familiar and the new and strange" (31). The Navajo culture was to be built on to, not thrown away; familiar cultural items (as food) were used in addition to "American" culture items, and the Navajo language was used as a tool in the instruction of English.

The bilingual program of instruction was especially interesting, particularly since Beatty later used the results of the program to justify bilingual instruction in the "regular" Bureau schools. Bilingual Navajo men and women were employed as "teacher interpreters" to assist the regular classroom teachers; depending on the degree of knowledge of English, children were placed in classes and instructed in either Navajo alone or both Navajo and English. And depending on the rate at which students progressed in their learning of the subject matter presented in a class and their learning of English, so the "switch-over" from all Navajo to all English instruction progressed.

The first group of Navajo children were to total no more than 200, and were to be totally illiterate and lack any English speaking ability; beyond that the children were selected on a first-come, first-serve basis. Yet screening procedures were not thorough on the reservation, and during further testing at Sherman Institute in California (the pilot school for the project), it was found that 45 of the 335 who had been enrolled were considered to be academically advanced enough to be placed in the regular program at Sherman, and 55% of the remaining 290 had had some degree of schooling, ranging from first grade level to sixth. As a result, the Bureau had to diversity its original plan a bit.

The following year (1947-48) the project was extended to the schools at Chilocco, Phoenix, and Carson (Stewart) in Carson City, Nevada; in 1948-49, Albuquerque, Chemawa (Oregon) and the Cheyenne-Arapaho School (near El Reno, Oklahoma) became project schools. By this time, there were 1,650 Navajo children enrolled.

In 1949, the United States Army turned over Bushnell General Hospital in Brigham City, Utah, to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Because of the shortage of facilities for Navajo education--of any type--it was decided to convert the hospital to a boarding school for Navajo pupils, with a maximum capacity for 2,150 children. Even though the building was fairly new, extensive remodeling and additional building was necessary to convert a hospital into a boarding school, and in January of 1950, the newly named Intermountain School opened to admit 542 Navajo pupils. This school is easily the biggest administered by the Bureau (and, apparently, by anybody else).

In statistical terms, by 1959, 50,249 students had been enrolled in the Special Navajo Education project. Dropouts totalled 1,837 (the causes of dropping out varying from simply going home to death) and, again by 1959, graduates totaled 3,362, with 1,127 of those being from Intermountain.

There were problems involved in this phenomenal growth. One was the lack of physical facilities; in true bureaucratic manner, while the space was available, it often had not been prepared for living when the children actually showed up. The second major problem was recruiting qualified teachers and teacher-interpreters. In the first place, more teachers were needed for the ordinary Bureau school programs, expanding after the War, and in the second place, there simply weren't too many bilingual Navajo people around "with sufficient sophistication, English proficiency, and interest to fill the teacher-interpreter positions" (52).

One of the educated guesses made by the Bureau education staff was that adolescents would take a far shorter time to learn the objectives of the program than would six-year-olds and that these children could make three years--or more--progress in one year. The actual results at the end of the first school year were not quite that advanced for the whole group, but the guesses were not far off. Beginners (those with no schooling and who spoke no English upon enrollment) averaged two years five months progress in one year; the median progress for academically advanced (relative to this group) was one year three months, with a range from two years four months to three months. The 500 English words the staff expected the beginners to learn and use was closer to 330. And probably just as much an indication of the success of the program was that of the 290 children in the Special Program, only five dropped out.

As mentioned before, the primary purpose of the program was to prepare Navajo children to live in non-Navajo culture.

> During the first three years the major goals were those of social and personal development; the acquiring of essential information, social skills, and understandings including many things which most children know upon entrance in school; and the learning of basic English skills and numerical skills (53).

Such basic information included such things as "tells time", "correct table etiquette", "can read a map", "washes dishes according to approved standards", etc., a list of 61 goals for the first year dealing with personal appearance, health, use of English, care of home and clothing, etc. There were other equally specific goals for the second and third years.

The last two years involved a half-day of vocational work (or home economics) on learning "the skills of the trade for which he [the student] had elected to train" (53); the remainder of the half-day was spent in academic training for that vocation. For boys, the choices were automobile mechanic, carpentry, metal work, painting, baking, masonry, upholstery, even fire fighting for the Forest Service. For girls, the job opportunities lay mainly in the line of "home service", i.e., maid, although the Bureau was rather strict about the families with whom it accepted employment for its trainees.

The Special Navajo program initiated another phase of the Bureau's work, one that became increasingly important through the administrations of Myer and Emmons--the placement follow up. Simply, this meant that representatives of the school from which students had graduated visited them in home and job situations, and attempted to iron out problems that had arisen because of misunderstandings or lack of information.

> The school found, however, that it was of the greatest importance that they orient employers and work supervisors concerning the Navajo pupils. Most of these persons had little or no prior experience in working with them and had little understanding of the handicap imposed by their limited English, their still sparse experience background, and cultural traits which might make them shy or unassertive in their new job situations (119).

"Social" situations provided the greatest number of problems for the graduates, not situations that involved job knowledge, thus "...by far the greatest number of placement casualties were caused by problems of cultural adjustment --by feelings of insecurity caused by not knowing just how to proceed in a multitude of strange situations" (120). The placement officers, by being a familiar link with the school and by their attempts to correct difficult situations and misunderstandings, often managed to keep boys and girls on the job and in pleasant surroundings for living.

The placement work of the Special Navajo Education program resulted in minor changes in the project curriculum (usually related to matters of social etiquette) and rather major re-examinations of the placement programs of the regular Bureau schools. In addition:

> ...the origin of the Branch of Relocation Services can be traced to some extent to the successful experience in placement of the Special Navajo Program. An examination of exchanges of official correspondence between the Educational Branch of the Bureau and the Office of the Secretary of the Interior discloses that the success of the Special Program in helping young Navajos move into satisfactory jobs and living arrangements off the reservation was watched with great interest. Relocation was seen as one of the most feasible means of relieving the terrific pressures generated by an exploding population and a nearly static resource base. When the Relocation Branch was launched, it tackled the job of the voluntary relocation of somewhat older Indian adults to urban work centers. A cooperative plan was eventually worked out between the Relocation Branch and some of the schools, whereby the former helped with the actual job placement of special program graduates. However, the schools retained most of the responsibility for follow-up (122).

S. 2363 was a second "special effort" on behalf of the Navajo. "A bill to promote the rehabilitation of the Navajo and the Hopi Tribes of Indians and the better utilization of the resources of the Navajo and Hopi Indian Reservations" was the first attempt by either the BIA or Congress to look at the problems of a given area as a whole and express the "overview" in legislative action. The list of projects included soil and water conservation, range and livestock improvement, irrigation projects, surveys and studies of timber, coal, and mineral resources, development of industrial and business enterprises, development of roads, air facilities, and telephone and radio systems, and the construction of hospitals and other health facilities, and schools.

Congressional attitudes in the late 40's are clearly indicated in the hearings concerning the bill. The Navajo had long been the thorniest problem in the side of both the BIA and Congress; too large a reservation and too many people to ignore, the Navajo were largely non-English speakers, still lived as nomadic sheep-herders, and remained largely uneducated in formal schools. In terms of national pride in the American way of life there was no greater reminder that not all people wished or had had the opportunity to become a part of it. Thus in reviewing S. 2363, the attitudes of Congress concerning what they felt the future directions of Indian policy should be were evident. Definitely committed to the values of private enterprise and individualism, they wished to reverse as much as possible the policies and accomplishments of the Collier administration. To a rather appalling degree, many statements by Congressmen seem to represent a desire to return to the methods and policies of the administrations prior to that of Rhoads and Scattergood.

Hearings held in the latter part of March and April, 1948, resulted in many Navajo coming to Washington to express their viewpoints to the Senate sub-committee on Indian Affairs. The Navajo who appeared gave repeated testimony of their desire for more and better hospital and educational facilities. The majority were graduates of high school at least, and they presented petitions, letters, and telegrams to the effect that the Navajo people wished Congress to live up to the United States-Navajo treaty of 1868 which promised to provide a classroom and a teacher for every 30 school-age Navajo children. This wide-spread desire for education was in marked contrast to the indifference felt toward schooling before the War. The influence of returned veterans, many of whom had served overseas, and all of whom had encountered a variety of new experiences while serving in the armed forces off the reservations, and the influences experienced by those Navajo who had worked off the reservation on wartime jobs, had resulted in a growing conviction among Indian parents that education was a good thing.

By 1946, Beatty and the educational staff had acknowledged that the day school program on the Navajo reservation had not worked (1953:20). Poor or non-existent roads, irregular bus service, poor school attendance and the nomadic life of sheep-herding were the prime factors for this failure of the day school; in addition, there was widespread doubt and dissatisfaction among Navajo parents as to the effectiveness of the day school as compared to the boarding school and/or public schools. At the hearings, Navajo spokesmen requested a return to the boarding school system, or an accelerated program for putting children in public schools.

Partially, this request was based upon the knowledge that at boarding schools, attendance was pretty much a matter of course and that children and parents did not have a chance to allow non-attendance in classes through indifference. At the boarding schools also, students were known to be well-fed and given medical care.

Objection to day schools appeared to be a matter of curriculum. Here the question arises as to whether there was a difference in curriculum between boarding schools and day schools, or whether the objections were a case of "the grass is greener..."

An alternative to Bureau schools were public schools; a member of the Navajo advisory council suggested the building of "boarding houses" near or in towns around the reservation and from there, the children could be sent to public schools (Senator Watkins of Utah questioned the ability of the state of Arizona to afford that proposition, but it is interesting to note that the plan was one put into action by the Emmons administration, though at federal expense).

But regardless of whether the Bureau should build day schools or boarding schools, it was obvious that more schools were needed. At the time of the hearings, it was estimated that 17,000 Navajo children of school age (6 to 18) were not in and had never attended any school. In addition, the majority of the remaining 7,000 children were enrolled in schools which were overcrowded. In many of the boarding schools dormitory rooms were being arranged with "wall-to-wall" beds or bunk beds. Day schools had been converted to temporary "boarding" schools, with the children sleeping on mats in the classrooms and in halls. Many schools, especially the boarding schools, had been condemned and were either closed or were only in partial use. Lighting, plumbing, and sanitary facilities--showers, baths, toilets--were obsolete; in some instances the school had been closed because of a contaminated water supply. In terms of facilities, the situation on the Navajo reservation resembled the situation described in the Meriam Report.

S. 2363 requested money for the building of new schools and the repair of old ones which would furnish seats for 8,500 children. Mission and public schools accounted for another 1,000; off-reservation boarding schools brought the total to approximately 13,000 seats. The problem remained of 10,000 other children.

In part, this was a problem of water; in part, a problem of future planning and money.

> Mr. D'Ewart: Would you tell us how a thousand children can live in an area and still not have enough water for the 200 in school?
>
> Mr. Boyce: It changes the picture when you bring them all to one place and give them a bath and let them wash their hands three times a day and have a flush toilet and launder their clothes; but as long as they go from water hole to water hole and melt the snow when it is there, they can eke out their individual existence and take their chances with the gods (199).

The Bureau felt that there would be a water supply for perhaps 4,000 more students, but that there would be a limitation beyond that number. The Bureau was hoping to persuade many Navajo to move along the San Juan-Colorado River system or elsewhere; the "extra" 10,000 children would be a part of this migration.

Mr. Zimmerman. I think Mr. Boyce has pointed out the essential difficulty. We are faced with these alternatives, either we say to Congress, "you provide structures for a total population, which admittedly is in excess of what the area will support, with the result that at some future time you are overbuilt as to your schools, or you build for the population which, according to the best estimates, will remain permanently on the reservation and make some subsequent provision for that excess population". The Secretary tried to make plain yesterday, and I think the report makes it clear, that the location of other schools in addition to those suggested in this report would necessarily depend on the developments in the next few years. If a thousand families go to the Colorado River, if a thousand families move away to urban areas, or whatever developments may be, those developments will materially change the situation.

Mr. D'Ewart. If I understood Mr. Boyce correctly, there was also a very definite water limitation for these schools.

Mr. Zimmerman. There is a very definite limitation, and, as Mr. Boyce said, we hope that the development of water will make possible the construction of additional schools on the reservation to provide seats for about 4,000 children and, as nearly as we can forsee, that would provide adequate seating capacity for the permanent population that we expect will remain.

Mr. Fernandez. Well, there is water limitation for quasi-day schools if you are going to distribute them over the reservation.

Mr. Zimmerman. Yes, sir. That is true.

Mr. Fernandez. But you have plenty of sites and sufficient water in San Juan River where you could build boarding schools for these children.

Mr. Zimmerman. There is one other factor that seems to me to be clear. Maybe I underestimate the generosity of Congress, but I don't believe the Congress will feel justified in spending 80 or 100 million dollars on boarding schools which we would have to confess would be temporary institutions.

Mr. Fernandez. With the Navajos increasing as they are, I don't see how we can say that they are temporary because even if those Indians move over into the Colorado River Reservation, or move farther east into New Mexico, they will still be sending their children to school. They will have to go to boarding schools unless they move into communities where there are public schools (195).

One of the more interesting sidelights of the hearings was the debate on the teaching of the Navajo language in the schools. More than any other single item, this debate illustrates the conflicting views on the purposes and methods of education; in particular the Congressional view that education in general was for children was evident.

Beatty's memorandum to the sub-committee expressed the intent and scope of the project; first, to provide a means of communication for older Navajos whom it was felt would never learn to speak or to read English. "These people either are to remain totally illiterate and dependent entirely upon word of mouth for all their ideas or they may become literate in their own language and approached through the printed word with a variety of modern ideas with regard to health, economics, employment, etc." (426). The second goal of the program was to facilitate the teaching of English.

Instead of beginning the instruction of Navajo children in English as soon as they entered school, Beatty and others, particularly those who taught the children enrolled in the Special Navajo Education project, felt that if the children learned to read in a language with which they were familiar, they would then learn to read English more rapidly. Basically, the idea was to establish familiarity with the concept of the spoken word on the printed page. In addition, bilingual instruction in both Navajo and English facilitated the learning of English; and bilingual textbooks were available both as "straight readers in English" and as supplementary texts.

Beatty did not accept the viewpoint of many language teachers that the best way to learn a language was to speak only that language in the classroom. The key was that a child--or anyone else--should understand what he was being taught.

> Our experience with our Navajo-speaking youngsters gives no support whatever to the modern language teaching thesis, that the best way to learn a foreign language is to be taught in a classroom where nothing but the foreign language is spoken. The idea is that if one hears nothing but the foreign language, and is forced to adjust to it, one will acquire meaning very much the way a little child learns to speak his native tongue--through trial and error. We forget that it took the little child five or six years to acquire his native tongue, and that while doing so he lived in a family which spoke nothing else 12 hours a day. The idea that one can similarly acquire a foreign language in a few hours a day may sound intriguing but, as a matter of fact, our Indian Service experience has proved that the youngsters who get through oral translation into their native language a clear understanding of what is going on, learn English much faster than those exposed to nothing but English.
>
> In our Indian Service classes where we assume that simply hearing English will ultimately make it a second language for the children, years are often required before the children cease to think in their native tongue. On the other hand, in the Indian Service classes where we are seeing to it that the Indian children understand exactly the meaning of the English phrases with which they are confronted, there is ample evidence that they begin thinking in English the first year. Our Navajos, where we have carried out this particular pattern the fullest and most completely, are learning English more rapidly than others. The bilingual approach, in which content is taught in the native language and parallel instruction in English during the first year, followed by basic instruction in English the second year, with Navajo translation to the extent necessary,

> is showing the most rapid acquisition of spoken English that has occurred in the Indian Service. In fact, this is the first really successful high speed attempt to teach English to Navajos achieved by the Indian Service, the mission or public schools, or the Army (1953:246-47).

Much of the actual teaching of reading and writing in the Navajo language had been done prior to World War II; during the interim of 1940 through 1946, the personnel involved had been scattered due to joining the armed forces. In 1947, the project and the personnel were re-established; the Navajo language newspaper was resumed and several other publications prepared. At that time, it was estimated that roughly 1,000 Navajo adults could read the newspaper.

> While 1,000 Indians able to read the Navajo newspaper may seem to be a pitifully small number in comparison to the 64,000 Indians on the reservation, they do, however, constitute 1,000 people able to read and transmit accurate information at 1,000 different points throughout the reservation, in contrast to previous conditions where every idea had to be transmitted by word of mouth and two or three speeches were the maximum that could be devoted to any single topic (426).

In discussing the cost of the program Beatty attempted to reassure Congress that the project was not simply an esoteric way of wasting money.

> During the current year $13,822 in salaries has been paid to employees concerned with this and similar problems. By similar problems, I mean the preparation of educational film scripts dealing with the control of tuberculosis, the control of trachoma, the importance of birth registration, etc., which were being produced for use on the reservation. This included one linguist specialist at $4,902, and four assistants, all of whom are Navajos. The total cost of printing the Navajo newspaper during the current year as well as many teaching devices for use in Navajo schools and in the non-reservation-school program was $2,000. The total educational allotment to the

> Navajo Reservation during the current year was $1,811,782. An additional $715,425 also was spent for the education of 1,300 Navajo students sent to non-reservation schools. It will thus be seen that the cost of the language program has been negligible in comparison to the general education program (426).

Beatty wrote the statement on instruction on the Navajo language to explain and justify the program in the face of a general attitude of disapproval of the program and rather pointed hostility by Senators Watkins of Utah and Fernandez of New Mexico, who saw the project as a rather useless one. If you are teaching children to speak, read, and write English, why bother with Navajo? They already know that anyway.

But to be fair to the program, Senator Watkins asked for the opinions of several witnesses about the project. The results were somewhat surprising. The Navajo questioned, most of whom were members of the Navajo Tribal Council or its advisory committees, opposed the project, or at least thought it unnecessary; many whites approved of it. The following are statements taken from the hearings and are responses to direct questions as to the witnesses' opinions of the value of the Navajo language program.

> Mr. Gorman. One more thing which I just happened to recall in connection with your question. It is this matter of Navajo language being taught as you have been hearing here.
>
> Senator Watkins. Do you mean the written language?
>
> Mr. Gorman. Yes, the written language. We don't feel that the Navajo written language should be taught unless they go ahead and do it voluntarily like so many people are doing now. I believe the educational department has a staff that they send

around to these places to each group to read Navajo.

Senator Watkins. Adult groups?

Mr. Gorman. Adult groups mainly and some of the missionaries I know, interpreters, have been asked to attend those classes and also in summer schools they have endeavored to make known the Navajo written language to their day-school assistants. I believe so far as the Navajo assistants are concerned, I think it helps because there are times when young men and young women come out of high schools and don't know much about the Navajo language. They don't have sufficient vocabulary which the Navajos use to convey their thoughts, which was very clearly brought out by Mr. Beatty, I think, the educational director.

But as far as teaching the written language in school, I think the English language is enough for them to carry. We want our children to be taught the English language.

I have a boy and a girl going to public school at Granada, and both of my children do not understand Navajo. What little they know they pick up playing with other Navajo children.

The children, when they bring back their daily grades which they don't do in Government day schools, and they bring their grades home every evening, their grades are much higher on different subjects, much higher than some of the white children that they go to school with.

I don't encourage my children to learn to read the Navajo language unless they have come to a point where they feel they should want to. I am trying to get them to read the English language more because I want them to be able to express themselves when they finish school (295-96).

Mr. Fernandez. Do you agree with this letter that those Navajo language newspapers are foolishness?

Mr. Davis. I fully agree.

Mr. Fernandez. You fully agree?

Mr. Davis. Yes.

Mr. Fernandez. You heard Dr. Beatty testify about that yesterday and point out the good points. Have you any comment about that?

Mr. Davis. Well, it may be a good thing, all right, but that is not the American system of education is it? What the American people want is to educate the Navajos.

Mr. Fernandez. Yes, but he pointed out that by the use of the Navajo language, it is easier to teach the Indian children the English language. Do you not agree with that?

Mr. Davis. It might be a little easier in some ways, all right.

Mr. Fernandez. If you have a textbook with pictures, and with the Navajo language underneath it, and then on the opposite side the English language under it, do you not think that would help the children to understand?

Mr. Davis. Well, I do not know. I do not know just exactly. What do you think about that, Howard?

Mr. Gorman. I think it is foolishness.

Mr. Fernandez. Do you have children?

Senator McFarland. You did not use that system, then?

Mr. Gorman. Just the word he used there. He said it is foolishness, and I agree with the word.

Senator McFarland. I mean, you did not study by that method?

Mr. Gorman. No, no, I did not.

Mr. Fernandez. Do you have children?

Mr. Davis. I have children.

Mr. Fernandez. Do they bring the textbook home?

Mr. Davis. My people do not go to public school. I put my children in the mission school. The mission school does not use these.

Mr. Gorman. Mr. Ahkeah has an observation on that.

Mr. Sam Ahkeah (Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council). Might I say, Mr. Chairman, and Mr. Fernandez, there is so much talk about what some Navajos want. I wonder what use they would be to the Navajos. If they are going to stay on the reservation they might be all right for the Navajos. They are a very few--60,000 compared to the world.

Mr. Fernandez. They could write each other letters.

Mr. Ahkeah. And we are going to be absorbed. Does the world use the Navajo language? No.

Mr. Fernandez. It might some day. Do you have children?

Mr. Ahkeah. Yes.

Mr. Fernandez. Do they bring home the textbooks

> that are written in both Navajo and English?
>
> Mr. Ahkeah. No. My children went to the public system of schools. They do not teach it there. We have to learn what the majority learn around us, around our country.
>
> Mr. Fernandez. Do you read Navajo?
>
> Mr. Ahkeah. No.
>
> Mr. Fernandez. Have you ever tried to learn it?
>
> Mr. Ahkeah. No; I never saw where it would benefit me to learn. I never did see.
>
> Mr. Fernandez. Well, you could write letters to your friends in Navajo.
>
> Mr. Ahkeah. I write English. (308-09).

The writers who favored the program, or at least that program of teaching adults to read Navajo, included Oliver La Farge (who had helped set up the initial form of the written language), Ruth Kirk of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, several reservation traders, and by implication those Protestant missionaries who taught it to adults in the mission school.

The sub-committee was not impressed by Beatty's arguments as to the value of the program, however, either for adults or as a means to accelerate the learning of English. In terms of money they felt that it was of greater importance to finance the education of children, perhaps because of the realization that Navajo adults would remain Navajo, but children could be assimilated.

Just how representative of the views of the Navajo people were those who appeared before the sub-committee is an interesting question. Before the War, a large majority of the Navajo had voted in favor of a Navajo written language, and as Fernandez and La Farge had pointed out (with different viewpoints in mind), those Navajo who spoke and read English had no need to learn to speak or read Navajo.

Summary

The attitude prevalent at the Congressional hearings was that of assimilation--Indians must be brought into white culture. There was little room for a belief that many aspects of Indian life were of value to either Indians or whites; there was no appreciation for the thought that it might be possible to tolerate different cultures and culture patterns within the dominant American culture. Equally striking was the attitude that Indians should be assimilated no matter what they thought about the goal or the methods, an attitude that was to intensify in the next five to six years. Indians as individuals were all right, as long as they weren't any different than the rest of us.

Perhaps the most notable accomplishments in education of the period between 1944 and 1950 were the initiation of the Special Navajo Education Program and the testing program to determine educational achievement among Indian students. Correlated with both these programs was the increasing awareness by Bureau personnel of the importance of a child's background and the importance of non-verbal behavior in a person's being assimilated into another culture. Greater awareness, too, was shown of the need for a child to acquire a strong proficiency in English (reading and speaking) before he could progress in school or be accepted in white Anglo-culture.

V. Policies of Termination

Background on Personnel--Dillon Myer and Glenn Emmons

Dillon Myer became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1950, succeeding John R. Nichols. Myer's previous experience had been as director of the War Location Authority, the department responsible for the setting up, maintaining, and finally, dispersing of persons of Japanese ancestry in and from concentration camps during World War II. Many of Myer's critics rather pointedly referred to his past post by suggesting that he viewed Indian reservations as concentration camps, and that he brought to the Bureau of Indian Affairs the same viewpoints and methods as used to relocate the Japanese after the War. Whether accurate in detail or not, Myer was in full agreement with those Congressmen who felt that the Federal Government had been in the Indian business long enough, and the three years of his administration thoroughly committed the Bureau to a policy of the termination of Federal responsibility in Indian affairs.

In the spring of 1953, Myer resigned as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and W. Barton Greenwood was appointed as Acting Commissioner until the nomination and Senate ratification of Glenn Emmons. The hearings on the nomination of Emmons were indicative of both Congressional attitudes concerning the operations and goals of the Bureau and Emmons essential agreement with Congress.

> Senator Watkins. How do you feel about this program of proceeding now to get the Indians in control

> of their own affairs, and to have the United States in an orderly manner withdraw from the guardianship of Indians?
>
> Mr. Emmons. I am absolutely in favor of that, Senator. I do believe it is going to take a longer time for certain tribes than others. I do not believe, naturally, that we can apply the same yardstick to every tribe in America... I think that we should see that the Government trusteeship is liquidated just as rapidly as possible...
>
> Senator Watkins... I would not want to approve any Indian Commissioner who was not in sympathy with getting these Indians prepared as American citizens and enabling them to stand on their own feet. If he had an idea of making them a museum piece, and putting them on a reservation, and insist that they develop their old culture, I would object seriously to it.
>
> Mr. Emmons. I agree with you exactly, Senator Watkins. I think education of these people is a most important thing, so they can assume their privileges and responsibilities as real Americans, which they are (1953:5-7).

Indian groups were apparently satisfied with Emmons' nomination. President Eisenhower, during his campaign for the presidency (1952), had promised to consult with Indian groups concerning the selection of a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. As an indication of the fulfillment of this promise, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Orme Lewis, noted that he had conferred with 150 different groups "representing 75% of the Indians" under the jurisdiction of the Bureau. In any case, there was little objection to approving the appointment of Emmons, either from Indians or by Congress.

Emmons, as Brophy had been, was a resident of New Mexico. Previous to his appointment, he had served as president and chairman of the board at the First State Bank of Gallup, and was, at that time, the treasurer of the American Banker's Association.

In a speech given before the Indian Rights Association in January, 1954, Commissioner Emmons expressed his views on the major problems he felt were facing Indian peoples in the United States and some tentative solutions to these problems. The latter included relocation programs (programs which removed Indian families from the reservations, found jobs in industry for these Indians, and attempted to provide some level of counciling to the families to enable them to adjust to industrialized city life), programs to encourage the location of industry on or near reservations and which would then furnish wage work for Indians, and, simply, improved schooling and health opportunities. All of these programs, however, were directed toward a common purpose.

> And so we come back to the main theme of reduced Federal participation in Indian affairs coupled with greater Indian initiative and self-reliance. My belief is that the major forces now holding many of the Indian people back... are these very three problems which I have just been discussing--ill health, lack of full educational opportunities, and widespread poverty. By attacking these problems at the root, I believe we can greatly hasten the day when the Indian people will no longer need the protection of special relationships with the Federal Government and when they can take their proper place in our local communities on an equal footing with their non-Indian neighbors (Indian Truth Jan.-Feb. 1954:5).

And at the request of President Eisenhower, the new Commissioner toured the major Indian reservations in November of 1953. As the result of this tour,

> ...top priority attention was given to three outstanding problems: (1) a broadening of educational opportunities to accommodate all Indian children of school age at the earliest possible date, (2) provision of better health protection or preventive medicine service in Indian homes and communities, and (3) the creation of greater opportunities for Indian economic advancement through a combination of development activity on or near the major reservations and continued assistance to the Indians in off-reservation relocation (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1954:229).

In 1950, the Bureau of Indian Affairs once again underwent internal reorganization, necessitated primarily "by the inability of the Washington office to deal effectively with more than 100 field offices" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1950:343). The new organizational hierarchy was "built around three levels of administration": the Washington Office, eleven area offices, and the individual agencies (46), field offices (7), "or other field jurisdictions" (associated usually with schools and hospitals). The detached field offices and all agency offices were placed under the jurisdiction of the 11 area offices. The purpose of such transfers was, in part, to place the "housekeeping" functions, as purchasing and payrolling, formerly a duty of the agency, into the hands of the area offices "in order to free the agency personnel for more direct operations with individual Indians and Indian groups" (1951:351), and to transfer decision-making responsibility from Washington to the field and so delegate authority closer to the Indians. A manual was then drawn up to inform area directors and agency superintendents in detail about "the proper exercise of their newly assumed responsibilities" (352). While a commendable goal, one wonders how efficient such moves were when it involved such actions as the Minneapolis area office assuming jurisdiction over the Cherokee, North Carolina, agency.

In 1954, further reorganization of the Bureau took place after a survey team (consisting of three business men, two departmental representatives not of the Bureau, and one Congressional staff member) completed a report concerning the efficiency of the Bureau's administrative organization and program activities. In general, the survey team commended the area-field office (or agency) form of organization, although they suggested several specific changes: (1) that the area offices at Window Rock and Albuquerque be consolidated at Albuquerque, (2) that the area offices at Muskogee and Anadarko, Oklahoma, be consolidated at a central point in Oklahoma, and (3) that the superintendencies be reestablished at Window Rock, Albuquerque, Muskogee, and Anadarko. There were other recommendations concerning the consolidation, transfer, or abolition of various branches of administration, the expansion of the relocation program, legal claims for heirship lands, health (including the transfer of the Indian health and medical program to the Public Health Service) and education, mainly educational facilities on the Navajo reservation.

The attitudes of the survey team concerning education and its importance are expressed rather concisely.

> 1) The survey team strongly endorses the present policy that Indian children should receive their education in local public schools to the fullest extent possible.

> The assimilation of Indians into the social and economic structure of the nation is being accomplished in the best possible way through Indian children receiving their education in company with non-Indian children in public schools (17).

It might be noted here that the main objective of the survey was to find means of saving money through greater efficiency within the Bureau; in particular, the recommendations on Navajo school facilities show a lack of information on the non-monetary problems involved and a certain lack of awareness of the social aspects of education. For example, the recommendations of the survey team virtually ignore 15 or so years of experience with day schools on the Navajo reservation, and the problems encountered by the day schools. Thus the Committee report states:

> Further construction of relatively high cost boarding schools on the Navajo Reservation should be postponed. The Bureau should concentrate on improviding inexpensive facilities of a semi-permanent nature that could increase the number of children in day schools in a comparatively short time (Committee Print 14, 1954:xii).

Another example is the comments on the trailer schools, which were deemed an overwhelming success and were viewed as a cheap solution to the facilities problem, even though they had been in operation for only one year.

While the Bureau did not accept the survey's opinion and advice concerning boarding schools, it accepted the warning that "it appears that under the present program the number of children out of school will not be significantly reduced at the end of the 10-year period" (18), and in 1954, began an emergency education program for the Navajo (which will be discussed later).

Political Climate--Termination and Reaction

Termination played a major role in the administrative policies of both Myer and Emmons in all areas of activity. Lyman Tyler (1964) in a paper prepared for the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian in 1958, follows the "progress" of termination efforts by the BIA and Congress in a general, but thorough, form. Here I will try to give a broad account of the termination activities as a background for education policy.

> In discussing termination with persons who have been with the Bureau ten years or longer, the information has been repeated consistently that from the time Mr. Zimmerman made his report before the Committee on Civil Service in 1947, there has been no change in policy and little change in pace. Any change in pace, it was said, could likely be traced to the appointment of new commissioners, with the necessary lull that occurred in becoming oriented to the new position. Throughout this period public speeches or articles on Indian affairs from the Department of the Interior or the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as well as the official circulars, are burdened with references to withdrawal, transfer of responsibility to states and local government, or placing more responsibility upon the tribes themselves. I am able to only sample these for the commission's benefit (36).

The report before the Committee on Civil Service was one which Zimmerman had been requested to draw up by the Committee "to present a withdrawal program which would lead to a reduction of Bureau personnel" (36). More specifically, tribes fell into three groups: those who, at the present time (1947) were paying most of the costs of federal administration and could probably be put totally on their own; those who could be brought to a position of self-sufficiency within ten years or so; and those tribes who would need federal aid and supervision for an unknown number of years into the future.

> Lists of tribes under these three categories were prepared but deciding what tribes should go under which headings, once the obvious choices were made, was like a blindfolded man picking names out of a hat. The answers given to the Senate were tentative, and could not have been otherwise, without time to review the facts about each (Fey & McNickle:134).

Zimmerman had, however, suggested criteria which would serve as guides to the "placement" of tribes in groups I, II, or III: (1) the degree of acculturation, (2) economic resources and condition of the tribe, (3) the willingness of the tribe to be relieved of federal control, and (4) the willingness of the state to take over.

Other Congressional actions were the passage of the Bosone Resolution (1950) which directed the Secretary of the Interior (Oscar Chapman) to "study the respective tribes, bands, and groups of Indians to determine their qualifications to manage their own affairs" (Tyler:37) without Federal supervision; and the passage in 1952 of House Resolution 698, which directed a full and complete investigation of the activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, the House did not provide funding for the investigation after adopting the resolution and so the chairman of the investigating subcommittee directed that a letter be written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs "requesting a complete report on the following propositions" (43).

> (1) The manner in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has performed its functions of studying the various tribes, bands, and groups of Indians to determine their qualifications for management of their own affairs without further supervision of the Federal Government;
>
> (2) The manner in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has fulfilled its obligations of trust as the agency of the Federal Government charged with the guardianship of Indian property;
>
> (3) The adequacy of law and regulations as assure the faithful performance of trust in the exchange, lease, or sale of surface or subsurface interests in or title to real property or disposition of personal property of Indian wards;
>
> (4) Name of tribes, bands, or groups of Indians now qualified for full management of their own affairs;
>
> (5) The legislative proposals designed to promote the earliest practicable termination of all Federal supervision and control over Indians;
>
> (6) The functions now carried on by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which may be discontinued or transferred to other agencies of the Federal Government or to the States;
>
> (7) Names of States where further operation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be discontinued;
>
> (8) Recommended legislation for removal of legal disability of Indians by reason of guardianship by the Federal Government; and
>
> (9) Findings concerning transactions involving the exchange, lease, or sale of lands or interests in lands belonging to Indian wards, with specific findings as to such transactions in the State of Oregon (House Report 2503, 1952:2-3).

Myer responded to the committee request by sending a detailed questionnaire along with a memorandum to all Bureau officials; the memorandum emphasized the policy of withdrawal, although emphasizing also the desire to work with the cooperation of Indian leaders.

During the past fiscal year the Bureau has devoted a great deal of effort to the development of withdrawal concepts and policy. Bureau personnel have been encouraged to give increasing emphasis to withdrawal objectives in their work with Indian groups and individuals in program development and effectuation. At the central office, we have established the Division of Program, whose primary responsibilities are to render guidance and assistance to Bureau personnel engaged in withdrawal programing at area and agency levels and to formulate Bureau withdrawal programs in cooperation with other central-office staff at national levels. We have reached the stage where it has become desirable to crystallize certain Bureau withdrawal policies, establish methods basic to the development of withdrawal programing, and fix responsibilities for proceeding with the task.

At this point, I want to emphasize that withdrawal program formulation and effectuation is to be a cooperative effort of Indian leaders and community groups affected, side by side, with Bureau personnel. We must lend every encouragement to Indian initiative and leadership. I realize that it will not be possible always to obtain Indian cooperation. However, I want our efforts to obtain such cooperation to be unceasing. In addition to the importance of consultation with Indians, I wish also to stress Indian participation with respect to negotiations with States, political sub-divisions of States, and Federal agencies, where such negotioations relate to Bureau withdrawal.

I think it may be fairly said that current congressional actions with regard to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian appropriations indicate future appropriations will be limited largely to financing items which will facilitate withdrawal. This approach is already evident in both House and Senate with respect to appropriation of construction funds. Under this condition it is imperative that the Bureau develop and implement programs to assist Indians to become better qualified to manage their own affairs. Full understanding by the tribal membership should be attained in any event, and agreement with the affected Indian groups must be attained if possible. In the absence of such agreement, however, I want our differences to be clearly defined and understood by both the Indians and ourselves. We must proceed, even though Indian cooperation may be lacking in certain cases.

I look to area and agency personnel, as the representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to as-

> sume primary responsibility for instituting and carrying on cooperative withdrawal programing work at field levels. It is in the field that we have the basic sources of necessary information and the means of enlisting Indian support and participation. In your work with Indian groups I want you to use every opportunity to place before the Indian tribal membership the need for and advantages to be derived from cooperative withdrawal programing effort. Tribal leaders should be encouraged to obtain maximum membership participation in this work (1952:3).

The results of the questionnaire, the report of the Bureau and conclusions by the investigating committee appear as House Report 2503, 82nd Congress (1952) and House Report 2680, 83rd Congress (1954). It was this latter report that included a list of tribes and their readiness, in the opinion of local officials of the Bureau, to be released from federal support. [7]

> With this list and the supporting information drawn from the 1952 questionnaire, Congress now had three studies that were referred to in regard to tribal readiness for termination. The first is the reservation program submitted in 1944; the second is the Zimmerman report, 1947; and the information included in the response to Myer's questionnaire, 1952, comprises the third. The information available in these three studies and the lists themselves are often contradictory. Several lists of requirements for readiness for terminating have also appeared, from within and without the Bureau, none of which are followed consistently (Tyler: 49).

In August, 1953, the House passed House Concurrent Resolution 108. Termination was now officially Congressional policy.

> Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to

> other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and perrogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and
>
> Whereas the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens: Now, therefore, be it
>
> Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all of the Indian tribes and the individual members thereof located within the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all of the following-named Indian tribes and individual members thereof, should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from the disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians: The Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Klamath Tribe of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Potawatomi Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and those members of the Chippewa Tribe who are on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that, upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations, all offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the State of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all other offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose primary purpose was to serve any Indian tribe or individual Indian freed from Federal supervision should be abolished. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior should examine all existing legislation dealing with such Indians and treaties between the Government of the United States and each such tribe, and report to Congress at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 1, 1954, his recommendations for such legislation as, in his judgment, may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution (House Report 2680, 1954: vii).

The accompanying House Report to H. Con. Res. 108 (H. Rep. 841), suggested that Congress must consider legislation that would cause Indians to cease being set apart from other citizens. Five areas of legislation were noted: (1) "the repeal of existing statutory provisions which set Indians apart from other citizens"-liquor, firearms, personal property, civil and criminal offenses; (2) the termination of "certain services provided by the Indian Bureau for Indians by transferring responsibility for such services to other governmental or private agencies"; (3) providing for the withdrawal of federal supervision over individual Indians; (4) and (5) termination of federal responsibility over Indian tribes in certain states altogether and over individual tribes.

Under the first heading, the 83rd Congress repealed

> ...discriminations in Federal statutes regarding use of, possession by or sale and distribution of, intoxicants to Indians; conferred State civil and criminal jurisdiction over certain Indians making possible a similar extension to the remainder; and repealed Federal Statutes on Indians having to do with personal property and sale of firearms. (House Report 2680:vi).

(2) The administration of Indian hospitals and medical services were transferred to the Public Health Service. (3) A bill (H.R. 4985) was introduced which provided for a procedure which would result in a certificate of competency "to any adult Indian making application (vi). (4) Five bills (in addition to H.Con. Res. 108) were introduced in the House to terminate Bureau responsibility in California, Florida, New York (two bills) and Texas. (5) The Flathead, Klamath, Menominee, Potawatomi, and Turtle Mountain Chippewa were recognized as tribes to be freed of Bureau supervision by H. Con. Res. 108.

In addition to the above measures, the passage of Public

Law 280 in 1953 was considered to be another major step in the final termination of federal responsibility. This bill provided for the assumption of civil and criminal jurisdiction (in terms of both law enforcement and court proceedings) on Indian reservations bu the states of California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin, with certain exceptions. An amendment to the bill also provided for other states in which reservations were located to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction; this amendment was widely attacked by Indian groups and Indian-rights organizations because of the provision which enabled states to assume this jurisdiction without the consent of the Indian peoples affected. (Consultation and consent of the tribes affected by the bill had been obtained in the five states listed above.)

Under the authority of H.Con. Res. 108, a series of joint Congressional hearings were held on specific bills which would consider termination for the Indian tribes mentioned in H.Con. Res. 108. The hearings lasted from February 15, 1954, through April 19, and included tribes which had themselves requested an end to federal supervision and those who had found themselves rather surprised by the hearings and the bills to "free" them.

The rationale behind the termination policy was clearly expressed by one of the policy's most vociferous defenders --Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah. The issue was seen as freeing the American Indian from the bureaucratic control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and thereby allowing--or forcing--the individual Indian to stand on his own two feet.

> Philosophically speaking, the Indian wardship problem brings up basically the questionable merit of treating the Indian of today as an Indian, rather than as a fellow American citizen. Now, doing away with restrictive federal supervision over Indians, as such, does not affect the retention of those cultural and racial qualities which people of Indian descent would wish to retain; many of us are proud of our ancestral heritage, but that does not nor should it alter our status as American citizens. The distinction between the abolishment of wardship and abandonment of the Indian heritage is vitally important. I wish to emphasize this point because a few well-intentioned private organizations repeatedly seek to influence Congress to keep the Indian in a restricted status by urging legislation to retain him as an Indian ward and as a member of a caste with a social status apart from others, not basically as what he is--a fellow American citizen (1957:48).

Wardshp status, then, resulted in a situation in which the overly paternalistic BIA refused to allow the Indian to accept the responsibilities and realities of American life; by terminating the continuance of the reservation and tribal life, the Indians would be free to control their own lives.

> Secluded reservation life is a deterrent to the Indian, keeping him apart in ways far beyond the purely geographic...Self-reliance is basic to the whole Indian freedom program. Through our national historic development the Indian was forced into a dependent position with the federal government more and more, as America advanced westward, tending to sublimate his natural qualities of self-reliance, courage, discipline, resourcefulness, confidence and faith in his future. Congress had realized this and had steadily acted to more positively to restore to the Indian these qualities. But self-reliance demands opportunity to grow. The Indians must be given the conditions under which--and only under which--self-reliance[8] can be wholeheartedly regenerated (1957: 51).

A second reason for terminating federal responsibility over Indians was basically a legal one. Indian tribal organizations were viewed as "legal fictions" in the context of the United States system of federal, state, and municipal organizational structures. Thus:

> The 185 Indian tribes, or "domestic dependent nations" in a very real sense are not a part of the American Government. They are actually an anomaly in the American political system. They are like a graft that flourished on a tree while the part that was grafted still had some life-carrying sap in itself, but which because there was no way for the graft to take, had long since become a dry, useless appendage or may be in the process of becoming so (Fitzgerald 1956:xv).

Therefore Indian tribal groups occupied a sort of political no man's land.

> To a very great extent the fiction of Indian tribes as "domestic dependent nations" or political entities outside our established constitutional system of government has impeded the progress of the Indian to the position of political, social and economic equality with his non-Indian fellow citizens which he deserves.
>
> Indian tribes have been and still are treated by the Federal Government as "domestic dependent nations" with power to regulate the conduct and relationships of their own members within their tribal territories (reservations) in accordance with tribal custom or law. They are generally not subject while they are on the reservation to any laws enacted by the legislature of the State within which their reservation lies. With some tribes which have retained much of their old culture or whose members have gained American political know-how, this arrangement may still have some effectiveness. But such tribes are in the minority. With a majority of them, the old culture has broken down, social controls have become ineffective and we find individual tribal officials struggling with problems of local government with which they are ill equipped to deal (xiv).

And here appears a third reason to justify termination proceedings: that little actually remained of aboriginal, or Indian, cultural patterns and values, and, therefore, Indians might as well be assimilated anyway, since the Indian way of life was dead.

One of the ironies of the emphasis on termination was the accompanying emphasis on individualism. Particularly in the case of Senator Watkins and Commissioner Emmons, "individualism" became a creed which paid little attention to the desires and wishes of the individuals involved--in this instance, individual Indians and tribal groups.

> Recently Commissioner Emmons, in a statement to the Indian delegates at one of the regional meetings which he has been holding, advanced an extraordinary argument against this mutuality--namely, that consent is "insidious" and too costly. After stating the three essentials of consultation and after commending the Indians for sending as delegates such "fine men capable of leadership", Mr. Emmons went on:
>
> > I don't think the Indian people have a more sympathetic champion than I to your problems. Of course, we have to sift a lot of suggestions that are made as a number of them are not in good faith. Sometimes it can be a very insidious proposal that looks beautiful, but when you analyze it, it is the worst thing for the Indian people. I refer to the word 'consent'...That word consent--I wonder if you know what that would involve. In any action taken regarding Indian affairs, the council of the Indian people would be required to be there every time. Can you see what that would involve? You can see, too, the amount of money that would involve. The U.S. Government can't afford to pay that, and I doubt if the tribes in America could afford to pay this every week (Zimmerman & Emmons 1957:32-33).

Reaction to the termination policy of Myer and Emmons was swift, but inadequate. Many tribes slated for termination by H.Con.Res. 108 were surprised and rather shocked by their inclusion, and various organizations were vehement in their denunciations of the hasty actions and total lack of planning shown by termination bills (there were hearings held jointly by both House and Senate sub-committees on Indian Affairs on 25 bills concerning 13 Indian groups). But by 1954, the hearings, a new Congress, and growing opposition to termination from private citizens, Indians, and organizations began to have something of a dampening effect on the enthusiasm for the "termination of federal responsibility".

> The Eighty-Fourth Congress gave some indication that it was not too sure about the Myer-Emmons wave. The only termination bills passed were at the request of tribes which specifically asked for the legislation. Not a single termination bill oppossed by the tribe effected was passed (Zimmerman 1957:40).

Thus, in the 83rd Congress, six termination bills were passed, while in the 84th Congress, three were passed; concerning the latter, Congress made a point to determine whether or not the Indian group itself was in favor of termination.

It might be noted also that a number of reports and books were published during the late 50's, books which were essentially reviews of Indian history and the activities of the Bureau. Most of these books were written practically up to the date of publication-- and their respective opinions of termination policy and the results of termination were harsh. "Friends of the Indian" had individually taken to propaganda.

By 1957, the following tribes had been or were in the process of arranging for termination.

Klamath (in process, terminated August 1961)

Menominee (in process, terminated in 1961)

Peoria, Wyandotte, and Ottawa of Oklahoma (1957)

Uintah and Ouray of Utah (in process, terminated August 1961)

Colville of Washington (in process, to be terminated by 1961) (in process as of 1967)

The 59 bands of western Oregon (terminated 1956)

Alabama-Coushata of Texas (transferred to state jurisdiction 1955)

Four Paiute bands of Utah (terminated 1956)

Tulalip (terminated 1956)

Amendments to both extend the date of final withdrawal of the federal government and to modify the procedures and criteria of withdrawal were introduced in both houses for the Klamath and Menominee Indians by the Senators and Representatives for the states of Oregon and Wisconsin; almost all amendments passed.

Lengthy hearings in the spring of 1957 indicated the change of attitudes in Congress. At that time, a series of hearings were held to discuss "federal Indian policy" and more particularly, S. 809, "to provide economic assistance to Indians" in the form of loans and/or grants to encourage economic development on the reservations; S. 331, an amendment to Public Law 280, to allow Indian tribes to give their consent before the state took over legal jurisdiction on the reservations; and S.Con.Res. 3, which, in Senator Mansfield's approving opinion, would nullify H.Con.Res. 108 as "the sense of Congress".

Whereas it is the understanding of Congress that its responsibility in the American Indian problem cannot be fulfilled by the dispersal of Indian communities, but by the continuous development of their human and economic potential; and;

Whereas it is recognized that Indian communities cannot be considered to have reached the American level of well-being until the principles of consent of the governed, self-determination, and local self-government are operative, nor until Indian opportunities in economy, education, and health are measurably equal to those of their fellow citizens; and

Whereas the American "point 4 program", as it has been applied successfully in underdeveloped areas of the world, reveals tested techniques whereby American Indian communities may be so developed: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Bureau of Indian Affairs shall be, by definition, an agency to assist American Indian communities to reach the level of well-being enjoyed by other communities in the United States, and the governing program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs shall be an American Indian point 4 program.

It is declared to be the sense of Congress that this program shall be offered to the American Indian communities without exacting termination of Federal protection of Indian property or of any other Indian rights as its price; that Indian culture and identity shall not be restricted or destroyed; that technical guidance and financial assistance shall be made available; that the request for assistance shall come from the Indians themselves after each Indian group has studied itself in terms of its own needs; that an impartial effort shall be made to deal with the development of natural resources to maximum capacity, to develop the full capabilities of industrial and agricultural production, of improvements in housing, nutrition, clothing, sanitation, and health, and of the resettlement on their initiative of individuals and families in other areas; that technical assistance shall be given to long-term general, vocational, technical, and professional education to enable American Indians to share fully in our total American society and to contribute to it; and that older, revered values shall be respected and used as new forms of living are introduced.

> It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior shall review all programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in order to develop its activities to further an American Indian point 4 program, and that he shall report to Congress at the earliest possible date his recommendations for such legislation as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.
>
> Finally, it is declared to be the sense of Congress that Federal protection and services shall be ended for any tribe, band, or group only when such unit shall have adopted a plan for its organization and operation under State law, and such plan shall have been approved by the appropriate State and by the Secretary of the Interior prior to its submission to the Congress. (Hearings 1957:48).

While none of the above-mentioned bills passed Congress, the hearings clearly indicated a changing climate of opinion. The members of the sub-committee on Indian Affairs (with two exceptions), while accepting in principle the view that the Federal Government must someday be relieved of responsibilitiy toward Indian groups, had seen the results of too-rapid termination proceedings and were realizing that mere termination would not solve the problems faced by Indians; termination not only created problems for Indians, but also for other residents in a given area or state. More than any other, a sort of "slow-down-and-study-the-situation" attitude was expressed. Congressmen wished to have information and fairly concrete proposals before them before they approved a course of action. Senator Neubarger's statement i. indicative:

> Senator Neubarger: I am caught more or less between these two extremes, one which has promoted this hasty termination in my state, which was too hasty and was not properly thought out, and, on the other hand, this proposal for a program which has not yet been implemented (Hearings 1957:202).

In addition, there was an increased respect for tribal organizations and the desires and wishes of Indians themselves. There was a greater recognition that many Indians did not want to give up being Indian, and that America, like it or not, was not a homogeneous society but one in which groups of people of different racial and cultural backgrounds persisted--to the good. The cry for the 100% Americanization of Indians was dying.

> The Indians can get along in the white man's society, and still retain their Indian culture, if we help them by constructive legislation. But those who want to maintain their tribal association and Indian culture must also be permitted to do so.
>
> A basic American principle is the consent of the governed. The consent of our Indians --consent freely given--must be obtained prior to any change in policy. They must be consulted by Congress and the Administration and must be given adequate opportunity to be heard on legislation affecting them, their property and their freedoms. For mutual participation--not government by degree imposed upon the group--is the way of progress.
>
> We in Congress must legislate to preserve the Indian heritage, insofar as it can be preserved in the 20th century. We must engender respect for the Indian as an individual and for his way of life. We must seek a basic understanding between our races--so that we can mutually trust each other and cooperate for the betterment of our American homeland. We must recognize that our Indians are not an abstract problem to be solved by legalistic formulas administered by a distant and unsympathetic bureaucracy, but that Indians are people--our people (Representative Lee Metcalf in Indian Truth January-March 1958:8).

The factors which gave rise to the growing resistance to termination can be broadly put into three classes--the ethics of termination, the practicality of termination, and simply, viewing the results of termination.

There were numerous people who pointed out that Indians were entitled, by treaty rights, to the land they possessed (whether or not Congress had alloted it) and to the services provided by the Federal Government--schools, medical services, etc. Others noted that the Federal Government had, to put the position bluntly, so cheated, betrayed and mistreated Indians in the past that the government owed it to Indians to provide the basic educational, medical, and welfare services, if for no other reason than to atone for past misdealings. Some took the position that the United States had forced Indians into the poverty-stricken position Indians were in through the allotment policy and so it was up to the Federal Government (i.e., the BIA and Congress) to work to get them on their own feet again.

A second aspect of the "ethics" position was that commented upon by those people who felt that the termination program would not only not "free" the Indian but would inevitably force him into a deeper situation of poverty, ill-health, and social disintegration. The termination policy, it was felt, was predicated on nothing more than greed for Indian land, water rights, mineral wealth, timber, etc.

> The basic motive hidden within these pretentious titles is greed. Indians wonder "freedom from what?" "Who is the second-class citizen?" Proposed legislation resulting from these unwarranted "Cries of Freedom" have no more purpose than to liquidate the Indian's resources and thus enslave him to the miseries of poverty, humiliation, and even death so far as his identity is concerned.
>
> The "withdrawal" bills coming before the Second Session of the 83rd Congress, emanating from the

> provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 108 assisted by the "Competency" Bill, H.R. 4985, in substance, provide for disposing of tribal assets and forcing patents on individual allotments, thus throwing open the reservations to further invasion by non-Indians which would in time dispossess the Indian of the remainder of his land --his last independent hold on this continent. This will mean the complete annihilation of the Indian race. It is only through the continued possession of his lands that he can retain his distinction and dignity as the original native of this country. His independence and self-respect, which are his front line of defense against discrimination, are vested in the land and property he now holds (Joseph R. Garry 1953:36).

To support this view, the actual results of the allotment law of 1887, the results of the increasing number of fee patents issued and the growing percentage of land sales, and the disorganization resulting from actual termination and impending termination as a result of H.Con.Res. 108, all indicated that those who suggested termination would not work when carried out in such a rapid fashion were right.

Practical objections to termination policy basically involved the ability of the states to take over the responsibility of providing services to Indians, even if Indian land did become taxable. Often a reservation might add acres to the tax rolls--but the value of the undeveloped land was so marginal that taxes would not pay for the increased costs of administering to Indians (an Arizona tax official noted that the whole of the Navajo Reservation would yield not as much in tax revenue as the taxes on one bank building in Phoenix). And since the great majority of Indians could not pay taxes, they would lose their land and end up on the public welfare rolls. State governments shuddered--and legislators voted. In 1954, the California legislature "adopted a resolution petitioning the President and Congress to continue Federal control over the American Indians within California" (Indian Truth April-July 1955:3). In the next year, Oklahoma and Nevada passed resolutions requesting that the Federal Government not take action on any termination program, while North Dakota and Wisconsin were finding difficulties in the administration and financing of recent proposals (P.L. 280 and the Menominee Termination Bill) concerning termination.

If Indians were to be incorporated into the state system then there would have to be increased school facilities and teaching personnel, medical facilities and welfare programs --and with the exception of California, few states were wealthy enough to afford the sudden responsibility. At the hearings on the original termination bills, there were several tribes (the Seminole, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa, for example) who rather convincingly demonstrated to the subcommittee that the degree of health, education, and welfare maintained by the tribe did not justify the termination of Federal responsibility. For example, the Seminole had not been in active contact with the BIA until 1933; in 1937, the first Seminole children had been enrolled in school (all three of them) and the following year the first school was opened. In 1954, there had been only three or four high school graduates; the Seminole comment was that "at the present time the Seminole Indians do not have members who have advanced enough to take care of the administration of tribal property" (_Indian_ _Truth_ Jan.-Feb. 1954:7). The Congressmen got the point and both bills were defeated.

Educational Philosophy and Programs

Beatty continued as Director of Education under Myer for a short time, but in John Collier's words "under Myer's retrogressive policies, Beatty could not function, and he resigned to become an officer in UNESCO..." (Collier 1963: 195). Hildegard Thompson, who had been a supervisor of the Special Navajo Education Program, and director of Navajo Education for the previous two years, was appointed to the position of Director of Education in August, 1952.

Fourteen years of educational direction under Beatty is difficult to summarize. While he did not succeed in arranging a high school education for every Indian child, the odds that a child could receive such an education were far higher in 1952 than in 1936. In terms of sheer number, there were 78 more schools at all levels than the 249 of 1936; and 11,752 more children were attending those schools. The quality of education had improved; the strict regimentation of earlier Indian schools with their basically anti-Indian sentiment had been eliminated and a respect for Indian heritage and back--ground was considered a valuable part of every school's curriculum and the policy of the Indian Education service. All Bureau schools which taught elementary and high school grades were accredited. Indications were that the progress of Indian children in the earlier grades were reaching the levels of white children in those grades, and the high school vocational programs were receiving the praise of both Indians and whites, even those who felt that other aspects of the Indian

Service schools were behind the progress of public school systems.

Teachers and other school personnel were, in general, college trained and professionals in their fields; teacher education, through the use of educational leave and in-service training institutes, was far beyond the level of competence it had been at the time of Beatty's appointment. The publication of Indian Education offered a means of communication between the head office in Washington and the field personnel.

Follow-up activities for Indians who had received job-training and who had moved away from the reservations were becoming an accepted idea in the Service, and the social-cultural problems of Indians in white society were acknowledged as legitimate and worthy of Bureau attention in the schools and in job situations.

Programs for the teaching of English were based on a better understanding of child psychology and learning processes.

Concentrated efforts had been made to enroll Indian children in public schools, and to eliminate those factors other than race which would cause white parents to object to Indian children's attendance--disease, unsanitary habits, etc.

The philosophy behind Beatty's policies was to respect the Indian heritage of Indian children and to accept an Indian background as something for the child to be proud of, and not ridicule or demean Indian culture (the question arises how one can maintain a child's--or any person's--belief in the value of his heritage and cultural background if one is trying to change and persuade the child, no matter how nicely, to accept the way of life of another culture). While Beatty was an advocate of assimilation of the Indian, he did not believe in forced assimilation; always the psycho-social welfare of the child came first in education.

There were, of course, criticisms; after all, Indians hadn't all been assimilated, and there were glaring gaps in the ability of many Indian peoples to read, write, or speak English; the majority of Indian children dropped out before completing high school and of those that went to college, few made it through to become college graduates.

School facilities, especially for the Navajo, were still inadequate, and there were not enough school seats for the Indian school population.

Yet the dynamism and creativity of Willard Beatty's work as Director of Education remains unmatched by his successor. Programs initiated during Beatty's tenure have not been replaced by more innovative programs to teach Indian students or to train Bureau teachers. This reflects both the degree to which Beatty upgraded the Indian education staff and schools, and the lack of original programming which would have utilized the findings of educational research. Mrs. Thompson's writings reflect the training of an educational administrator of other people's programs, not the creative thinking of an originator of programs and policies for education.

The termination policy affected education policy and activities in two major ways--the drive to place Indian children in public schools and the actual content of what was taught.

The placement of Indian children in public, state- and locally-supported schools had been proceeding for many years. The Collier administration had been cautious about which children were placed in what schools, but during the 40's, the number of Indians in public school systems had increased to include approximately 50% of the Indian children of school age. Zimmerman, and later, Nichols, had encouraged this trend, and Myer and Emmons, consistent with their views on other aspects of Federal Indian policy, saw the placing of children in public schools as part and parcel of their policy of turning Bureau activities over to the states. In one respect, while Collier and Zimmerman saw their job as fitting Indians for a self-respecting life and viewed education as a means to this goal, Myer and Emmons saw their job as washing the Bureau's hands of the whole business of educating Indians; the larger goal of fitting Indians into a life through education was turned over to the states.

Thus the trend toward the enrollment of Indian children was accelerated, and by 1951, Johnson-O'Malley contracts had been signed with 13 states: Arizona, California, Idaho, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. By 1956, Colorado and New Mexico had been included with those states maintaining Johnson-O'Malley contracts. In addition, plans were developed to transfer Indian schools (and surrounding lands) to the states and local school districts of the states in which such schools were located; in 1953, 25 schools were to be transferred under P.L. 47, "authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain properties" to local school districts.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs had long supported the legal point that Indian children, regardless of where they lived, were entitled to free public education by virtue of their being citizens of the United States. Congress also accepted this viewpoint, but both Congress and the Bureau were well aware that many school districts were financially unable to provide for the education of Indians, especially in those areas in which there were large amounts of untaxed Indian land. Therefore the Johnson-O'Malley Act enabled the Federal Government to provide funds to the states and to local school districts to educate Indian children, although the amounts of funds and the means by which funds were administered differed from state to state according to state school laws.

> With minor exceptions, Indian children are now attending public schools where such schools enrolling white children are sufficiently close to Indian areas to permit the enrollment and transportation of Indian children. Contrariwise, some public schools on the reservations have almost exclusively Indian enrollment. Federal day schools

> are now operated in Indian areas where there are few or no white children and where there is no tax base for a public school. Indian elementary boarding schools are operated to care for dependent children for whom no other constructive provision can be made, and Indian boarding high schools are operated for such dependent children, and for children of high school age who cannot attend on a day basis because of isolation; or when they need vocational training which cannot be obtained in available public high schools (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1950:349).

Federal funds to public schools were also made available under Public Laws 815 and 847 (81st Congress, Sept. 1950) which granted financial aid to those schools in areas where "government installations or Indian reservations have drastically swelled public school enrollments" (Brophy & Aberle 1966:149). These funds however, were allocated by Congress to the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Education granted the funds directly to local school boards, thereby bypassing both the BIA and state boards of education.

In 1949, John Nichols had stated, in his Report to the Secretary of the Interior, that

> ...for the last three years, teachers' salaries in the States where the Indian Service operates schools have increased more rapidly than Federal salaries. As a result of this difference, and the nationwide elementary teacher shortage, it has been difficult for the Indian Service to obtain qualified personnel (355).

In that year, the Civil Service Commission had issued a reclassification of "class specifications"; in 1951, the Bureau reclassified its education positions to fit into the new specifications. The effect was to raise salaries, and thereby, the Bureau hoped, to hold and attract better teachers.

In-service training programs were continued under both Myer and Emmons. In 1956, 38 workshops, with approximately 3,000 people participating, were held on local and area levels. Subject matter for the workshops were chosen according to the needs of special groups; a partial list of programs indicates a more professionalized approach than that of the 1930's and, in addition, the workshops were not just for teachers. There was "curriculum study for both academic and vocational teachers, guidance for advisory personnel, preventive maintenance for custodial personnel, and better feeding programs for cooks" (1956:210).

In 1957, tribal representatives were invited to a June Conference of school administrators and technicians "to explore methods and techniques designed to raise the educational level of the Indian people so they can compete in the age of automation" (250). While the number of tribal representatives was small (17), it was apparently the first time Indians as Indians and not as members of the BIA were asked to take part in the summer training sessions.

In the Education Branch, a research specialist was added to the staff in 1951. His task was to review and analyse the curricula and course content used in the Bureau schools, including those schools who used the state courses of study. In addition, the specialist was to "make a study of the vocational and high school graduates at the Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota, covering the past ten years in order to evaluate the impact that the educational program at that agency had had upon the students and the Indian communities served by these schools" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1951:359). The results of the latter study were published under the title Education for Better Living, by George Everett Dale, 1953.

Review of curricula and the standards utilized in BIA schools were again studied in 1956 and put into effect in 1957. The objective for the review in 1956

> ...was to develop a standard guide for school operation. The standards reviewed include (1) the curriculum and the techniques employed in developing it; (2) the vocational guidance program; (3) the staffing pattern necessary to operate a school at maximum efficiency; and (4) equipment and supplies needed for daily operation (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1956:210).

The results of the study emphasized better management "through developments of standards in construction school operations and a supervisory evaluation guide" (1957:248). Construction standards included items as space requirements for classrooms, dormitories, kitchens, dining rooms, bath rooms, and playground facilities, all of which would "assure uniform planning of school facilities and will greatly reduce cost in terms of time and money spent on the preparation of preliminary drawings and estimates" (248). Economy was also the goal of a "master list" of essential equipment and supplies drawn up in 1957 for Indian schools.

In 1957, criteria developed by the Bureau for the evaluation of each school's operations were tried out at four boarding schools and fourteen day schools. After each evaluation, the criteria were revised and by late 1957, the Bureau felt that "the criteria have now reached the stage where they can be formalized and used throughout the Bureau in supervisory evaluation of school operations" (1957:248).

School program evaluations were begun in 1954 as part of a four-year school evaluation project; although the project was completed at the end of fiscal year 1958, studies of school curricula were continued "for the purpose of maintaining up-to-date standards for the types of schools operated by the Bureau, and to formulate standards for activities where none has been established" (1958:206). Thus, by 1959, the following guides were available to BIA personnel.

1) Minimum Essential Goals for Everyday Living in Indian Schools, 1952
2) Dormitory Recreation Equipment, 1955
3) Dormitory Life: Is It Living? 1958
4) Minimum Standards for the Operation of Boarding Schools, Boarding Schools for Day Pupils, and Dormitory Schools, 1959 (1960:198)

The surveys and studies of BIA school curricula (and, I suspect, Sputnik) resulted in a readjustment of the curricula itself. Vocational education was given a position of secondary importance next to what might be called an "academic" curriculum. The reports of the Commissioner for 1959 and 1960 reflect this change of viewpoint.

> Definite steps taken in 1959 to meet the special needs of Indians in Federal schools included: (1) balancing the school curricula to provide a solid academic program for those going on to college and a high-school program with 2 years of exploratory vocational courses for those who want advanced training in technical or vocational fields; (2) emphasizing language skills

> and improving reading programs at all grade levels and in the content courses; and (3) strengthening the dormitory programs by closely coordinating them with other school programs to make the dormitories major laboratories for educational, social and cultural growth (1959:235).
>
> The curriculum, especially in the high school, is being evaluated critically to determine if it is meeting the needs of today's school population. Some changes have already been made. There is more emphasis on science and mathematics and more students are encouraged to postpone advanced vocational education until after high school graduation.
>
> The vocational educational program is undergoing some changes. Terminal educational programs are gradually being replaced by an industrial arts type of program (1960:198).

College was now a goal attainable for Indian students; the handfull of Indians who attended college in the 1930's and 1940's had grown to be a sizeable number (1954-55, 2300 college students; 1958-59, 6800 post-high school students).

Scholarships for post-high school education increased in number during this time, even though the number of scholarships available was quite small considering the number of Indian students. In 1956, the Bureau aided 202 students by educational grant funds; in 1958, 484 students received Federal loans, grants, and working scholarships. Private (usually mission) funds and state scholarships enabled a few students to attend college, but next to Bureau funds, the largest sources of scholarship aid were the individual tribes themselves.

In 1955, 75 Navajo students were assisted in college with scholarship grants from the Navajo Tribe, and in 1957, a $5 million trust fund for post-high school education was established. By 1959, approximately 25 other tribes had created trust funds for educational assistance in scholarships totaling an approximate value of $500,000.

In 1956, for the first time since Collier's emphasis on community participation and education in the day schools prior to World War II, adult education programs were initiated by the Bureau.

> During the year the Bureau initiated a pilot program in adult education. This program originated in the expressed need of individual adult Indians in many tribal groups to acquire the basic skills of speaking, reading, and writing the English language and doing simple arithmetic or to increase these skills. There are hundreds of adult Indians on reservations today who do not possess such skills, either because educational opportunity was not available to them when they were children or because they did not fully avail themselves of such opportunity as existed. In either case, many adults now feel a need for literacy skills to aid them in employment, buying and selling, maintaining good health, rearing a family, and assuming responsibilities of citizenship.
>
> Operations of the program have been begun at five tribal jurisdictions where the need was especially acute: the Seminole of Florida, the Papago of Arizona, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa of North Dakota, the Rosebud Sioux of South Dakota, and the Shoshone-Bannock at Fort Hall in Idaho. Teachers have been employed at these jurisdictions and are surveying the educational needs and interests of the adults. Instruction based on this survey has begun at most of the jurisdictions.
>
> A continuing search has been made for published learning materials which might be usable in the program. However, because of the peculiar needs of the learners involved, it has been and will continue to be necessary to prepare much of the instructional material specially by gearing it to the specific needs, interests, and levels of literacy of the learners. A good start has been made on preparing such materials.
>
> A plan for evaluating the program has been

> devised. This involves complete documentation of the adults' needs and interests and the methods, techniques, materials, and equipment employed in teaching (1956:211-212).

As mentioned, the original scope of the adult education program was limited to five tribes. In 1957, the program was expanded to include the Navajo, Pueblos, the Tacoma Sanitorium in Washington, and to Alaska; by 1960, the program had been extended to serve 97 different Indian communities of 24 agency field offices. While the philosophy of the program remained constant, i.e., to teach adult Indians skills which would enable them to participate more competently in non-Indian life, the scope of the program broadened. The Commissioner's report for 1957 notes that the program was limited "only by what adult Indians want to learn and what the teaching staff is qualified to teach" (249). More specifically, in communities of "low educational attainment" instruction centered around the learning of basic English and arithmetic; in other areas, there was instruction in elementary and intermediate school subjects; in those instances where individuals had had five years or more of schooling, special courses were taught which could lead to a certificate which was the equivalent to a high school diploma. There were also practical short courses offered; instruction in traffic laws, home improvement, budgeting, and in some groups, "community problems are studied with a view to promoting an awareness of civic responsibility" (1959: 236). In 1960, there were approximately 3,600 adult Indians who participated in the program; of that number, 1,200 were engaged in "formal learning activities" and 2.400 in informal activities.

In 1956, Congress passed P.L. 959 (H.R. 9904) which provided for the vocational training of adult Indians between the ages of 18 and 35. Three types of training were included in the bill: courses at an accredited vocational school, apprenticeship training, and on-the-job training, all limited to a maximum period of 24 months. In the first instance, the vocational school had to be able to show a "reasonable certainty" of employment for its graduates before the schools were allowed to participate in the program, a criteria that was essentially a requirement of the other two modes of vocational training. Apprenticeship training had to be either supervised or approved by "an appropriate state or national agency", and on-the-job training had to be recognized by industry and labor as leading to skilled employment.

In House Report 2532, the rationale of the bill was explained; there was also a side comment on the limitations of the bill in a letter from the assistant Secretary of the Interior, Wesley A. D'Ewart:

> Vocational training opportunities for pérsons who live in rural areas are limited, and they are particularly limited for Indians because of the isolation of the Indian reservations. A vocational training program for this group will be of great value in connection with the Department's relocation program because it will enable an increasing number of Indians to take advantage of employment opportunities that will provide them with more than a bare subsistence living. The reservations cannot hope to support the entire population

> that is now living on them and it is imperative that some of the group be equipped to earn their living in other communities. The training program will be a worthwhile investment because by making it possible for a larger number of Indians to become self-supporting, the need for special Federal services will be lessened.
>
> The program should also provide a stimulus for industries to locate near Indian reservations... [because] of the availability of skilled workers from Indian reservations...
>
> The $3 million annual appropriation authorized for training will provide training for approximately 1,500 Indians per year. This will not meet the full need of even a limited group such as the Sioux Indians... (H.Rep. 2532, 1956:2).

The Navajo Program

S. 2363 (H.R. 5932), to rehabilitate the Navajo and Hopi Indians, had not been acted upon by the Senate. Similar bills (S. 1407, H.R. 3476) were introduced in the first session of the 81st Congress, and while S. 1407 passed both houses, President Truman vetoed the bill in October of 1949. Truman's reasons for his veto centered around the provisions "...to subject these Indians to laws and courts of their respective states" (Indian Truth, Jan.-March 1950:8). Among other items, Truman mentioned that the bill might transfer control of Indian water rights to the state courts "where there is much less assurance of protection of Indian rights" (8). Also, since the inheritance of property was governed by tribal custom, the application of state laws might force upon the Navajo and Hopi a system which "they neither wanted nor understood" (8).

A revised bill similar to S. 1407, S. 2737, was introduced early in the spring of 1950 and passed in April. This bill began to be implemented in 1952, after funds were appropriated for the programs.

The lack of school facilities for the Navajo was one of the main problems to be solved by the rehabilitation program and the Bureau, regardless of one's opinions as to the Bureau's effectiveness, rose to the challenge of providing a school seat for every Navajo child. In 1954, following a quick survey of the Navajo school facilities problem, plans were drawn up for an emergency education program which would provide the estimated 8,000 Navajo children previously unable to attend school on the reservation with school facilities. Appropriations for educational purposes provided $25,000,000; from 1951 to 1956, the annual appropriations were as follows:

1951: $ 3,994,800
1952: 3,073,000
1953: 3,375,000
1954: 6,171,000
1955: 4,300,000
1956: 3,047,000 (estimated)

The figure for 1954 was the extra appropriation for the special education program; in this year President Eisenhower submitted a supplemental appropriation request for $4,535,425, which Congress approved.

One of the earliest projects was the conversion of day schools which had not been utilized to their full capacity to boarding schools by the addition of one or two "modest" dormitories at the school site. In some instances, the emergency education program called for the use of dining rooms and dormitory living rooms as classrooms during the day, while in other locations, dormitory living rooms also doubled as sleeping quarters by night. The remodeling of older schools was intensified and several large (capacity of 500 or more students) boarding schools were constructed. Thus, in 1952, six day schools were converted to boarding schools; a new boarding school was begun at Shiprock, (capacity 750); in 1955, construction of a 480-pupil school was started at Kayenta; and in 1956, construction of a dormitory at Keams Canyon neared completion. At the same time, much construction appeared to be an instance of running very fast simply to stay in one place, for the number of Navajo children who wished to attend school increased and as rapidly as schools were built or expanded, so other schools were closed or partially closed.

There were several innovations and new lines of attack concerning the problems involved in providing school facilities. The "trailer school" was developed as a response to the shifting living patterns of the Navajo people. The trailer schools were actually five structures: quonset huts or trailers which served as classrooms, kitchens, dining rooms, washrooms, and living quarters for the school teacher and a "domestic assistant". The location of the trailer schools was selected "where regional population density made regular attendance feasible on a day basis" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1955:234); in several areas, access roads and water facilities had to be built.

The trailer schools were originated in 1953; in that year, five schools taught 117 children from six to eight. By 1955, the number of trailer schools had grown to 37, with a capacity for 1,119 children. However, the average daily attendance was 713.

> At some locations, the trailer schools did not prove to be feasible, and were discontinued. In other instances, a relatively low average daily attendance resulted because of lateness in completing the installation, lateness in the return of families employed off the reservation, and problems attendant upon children walking to school during the winter (1955:234).

The trailer schools were devised as test cases for locating sites for permanent schools; thus, in those areas where daily attendance was high, the Bureau planned to construct permanent day schools. If attendance was low, the trailer schools were to be discontinued. Through the remainder of the Emmons' administration and into the administration of Phileo Nash, the number of trailer schools continued to fluctuate.

A second innovation in schooling for the Navajo was the "Bordertown Dormitory" program. Contracts were negotiated with communities adjacent to the reservation:

> ...according to these contracts, the Indian Bureau was to acquire land in the...communities and construct dormitories for Navajo students, who would be enrolled in nearby public schools. The federal government would pay full tuition costs for these pupils and would provide each school district in which they were enrolled with an initial capital outlay of $1,000 per student, presumably for defraying the expenses of necessary new school construction (Officer 1956:67).

In 1955, 1,030 Navajo children were enrolled in six public schools located in towns peripheral to the reservation; the children were fed and housed in dormitories either rented to or constructed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The number of students in this program was purposely kept small "so that they did not dominate the social pattern, on the premise that they would thus make greater use of English and be more rapidly acculturated" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1955: 234).

This program was expanded in the following years; 1,302 children were enrolled in 1956 and new dormitories built during that year brought the enrollment in the Bordertown Dormitory program to 1,460.

From the six schools located near the Navajo Reservation, the dormitory school program in 1960 had expanded to 17 locations near both the Navajo Reservation and on reservations other than the Navajo, and made it possible for 3,814 students to be enrolled in public schools.

As part of the increased emphasis on getting Indian children into public schools, the BIA built public schools, particularly on or near the Navajo Reservation. In 1956, two public schools were opened in Tuba City, Arizona, and Crownpoint, New Mexico, and contracts were completed to allow the construction of 11 public schools in the Navajo area.

In 1955, the Bureau issued the following table of statistics on the Navajo education situation.

Type of school	Number of type	Enrollment	ADA*
Boarding	28	6,414	5,536.9
Community Boarding	23	1,575	1,368.0
Day	10	622	493.8
Trailer (day)	37	1,119	712.7
Peripheral dormitories	6	1,030	953.9
Hogan school (day)	12	313	231.7
Literacy units (day)**	6	108	52.8

*Average daily attedance

**Primarily an adult program. However, in this report only children six through eighteen are counted.

Summary of Navajo schools by classes and enrollment

Navajo Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs.....	11,181
Other BIA (off-reservation).................	6,882
Public (State)..............................	3,900
Mission (parochial).........................	1,408
College and other non-BIA schools...........	308
Total	23,679

The number of children not enrolled in any school was calculated at 5,011, which was a substantial reduction from the year 1953, when "nearly half of the school-age population of 27,106 was not enrolled in any school..." (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1955:233). By 1957, the unenrolled figure was reduced to 3,098.

A "basic Navajo education policy" was formulated during 1956, with the combined efforts of the BIA, the Navajo tribe, the Arizona State Department of Education, and local county and municipal governments. In general, it set down as official policy the lines of procedure the Bureau had been following several years.

> 1. School facilities will be provided on the reservation for beginners through age 12--or through grade 6.
>
> 2. Educational opportunities will be developed in public schools for children in grades 7 to 12.
>
> 3. Vocational education in off-reservation Federal boarding schools will continue for retarded Navajo children in the 13- to 18-year age group, as long as required.
>
> 5. Navajo high-school graduates will be encouraged to pursue advanced training in keeping with their interests and capabilities.
>
> (Commissioner of Indian Affairs:201).

While the crash program for Navajo education did result in achieving the goal of getting the vast majority of Navajo children into some school somehow or other, there were criticisms and problems concerning the means--i.e., boarding schools and large dormitories. Indian Truth, in April-June, 1958, expressed the problem, one that the Meriam Report had expressed and the Rhoads-Scattergood and Collier administrations had attempted to correct.

In spite of gains, in far too many places, and

> ...particularly in the Navajo country, young children are taken from their homes to boarding schools or to dormitories in towns on the reservation boundaries to attend public schools in the towns. They see their parents and families only a few times, or not at all, during the year. It is urgent that such arrangements be definitely recognized as temporary expedients and that everything possible be done to provide schools near enough their homes that parents and children will not have to suffer the emotional disturbances that come from long-time separation (5).

It might be noted that the Bureau was at least aware of some of the problems of children in boarding schools. The Commissioner's Report for 1960 states that:

> More complete staffing of Bureau school housing facilities to assure 24 hours of care for children and youth in boarding schools and come within a 40-hour tour of regular employees has been possible through funds appropriated for this purpose. Emotional security, sick bay supervision, counseling service, creative living experiences and learning environment have improved for children with the employment of night attendants and additional instructional aids.
>
> Dormitory staffs are better able to give individual attention to students in counseling and group living experiences. Emphasis on the development of work space and adequate planning for creative activities in dormitories is supported by techniques studied by school staffs with the help of specialists. Some schools report a reduction in dropouts (1960:199-200).

It was also pointed out by the Indian Rights Association that the majority of public schools did not offer programs that helped to give "the Indian children an appreciation of their own cultural heritage" (Indian Truth, April-June, 1958:5). While I suspect that, for the IRA, an Indian cultural heritage consisted largely of arts and crafts, songs, and folklore, still the point is to be made--the public school systems rarely were interested in presenting a background of Indian culture to either Indian or white children.

Summary and Evaluation

Termination (or "readjustment", to use a term preferred by Commissioner Emmons) became a goal in itself, and as mentioned previously, in education this meant the transfer of the responsibility for educating Indian children from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the states and local school districts. That the transfer might not be beneficial to Indian children was a factor that was not really considered; it was simply believed that if Indian children mixed with white children, the Indians would pick up white culture and the English language more rapidly than they would if they remained in Indian schools. While the above was true in many instances, the cautions and qualifying factors frequently expressed by Beatty for the majority of pupils attending Bureau schools were ignored. In the rush to place Indians in public schools, the genuine problems that Indian children faced in entering a middle-class school system were not really dealt with; the public school systems were not equipped, either in terms of teacher understanding or citizen-parental understanding, to deal with the problems of a differing cultural background or the inability to speak English fluently. Beatty had attempted to make Bureau schools fit the needs of the Indian child while giving the child the tools to be self-sufficient. The policy of terminating federal responsibility simply turned the kids over to the public school systems; after that, it was up to the school systems to acculturate Indian children, a job they were not especially interested in nor financially capable of doing.

The Bureau tended to officially ignore the problems of social and racial prejudice. Barnett and Baerreis (1956) and La Farge (1957) pointed out (though neither in contexts specifically related to education) the social barriers that may exist and persist in communities where both Indians and whites live. Thus, even though Indian children do attend schools with whites, the officially unrecognized aspects of social prejudice may prevent a child's doing well in school and/or cause his eventual dropping out, regardless of intelligence.

> Young persons are able to participate to some extent in a broader social milieu by attending high school and this too presents some opportunity for personal expression and feeling of individual achievement. But even here they are made to feel the barriers formed between themselves, as minority group members, and the broader community of young people. The fact that a Chippewa from Odanah may be cheered for his performance on the football field does not ensure his being invited to parties that his school-mates may hold. Nor, for that matter, does it necessarily mean that he will ever be entertained at their homes (Barnett and Baerreis 65-66).

Yet in terms of placing Indian children in school, in any school, the Emmons' administration deserves credit for a phenomenal accomplishment. In 1953, (July) there were 91,000 children enrolled in school (38,000 BIA, 53,000 public), and 26,000 children unenrolled or unaccounted for. By 1960, the figures were 141,548, and 12,682 respectively. (Table VI) Much of the gain was on the Navajo reservation, where enrollment figures are as follows:

1953 -- Enrolled: Approximately 14,106
Not enrolled: 13,000

1960 -- Enrolled: 29,050 (all ages,) 27,407 (6-18)
Not enrolled: 4,335 (6-18)

In reviewing attitudes and values of the Bureau during the 1950's, two things stand out--the push toward the termination of Federal responsibility for educating Indian children (as shown by the emphasis on placing Indians in public schools) and the growing disregard of the Indian heritage and an emphasis on the poverty, spiritual and material, of an Indian way of life. The tone of the third set of articles from Indian Education, Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment, (1964) edited by Hildegard Thompson, expresses a deep pity for the Indians who live in poverty, were often diseased, and who were uneducated, but the sense of respect for things Indian and a belief that there were many things of value in Indian life expressed by Willard Beatty were missing. The theme of the culturally disadvantaged begins to enter BIA attitudes--its books, articles in Indian Education, and other sources--even though the terminology did not come into use until the 1960's.

TABLE IV

Date	1951	1953	1956	1957	1958	1959
Number of Boarding Schools	89* 3+	93	83			285
Number of Day Schools	140* 93+	234	234			
Mission	8000*					9%
Public	36215* 3700+	43,000		61%		61%
Attendance Government Boarding & Day	33300* 4500+			125000	129000	
Not enrolled	18400* 1400+					

*Continental United States
+Alaska

VI. The Early 60's: The Nash Administration

The Task Force Report and Phileo Nash

In 1961, Secretary of the Interior Udall appointed a task force of five men to investigate the state of Indian affairs throughout the country. The report on this survey was published in July of 1961, and served as a basis of action for the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the following years. Designated as "the new trail" for the American Indians, the 77-page report discussed problems in Indian affairs throughout the country and proposed recommendations to alleviate those problems. Topics discussed came under several general headings (as education, economics, law and order, tribal governments, federal-state relations, administration and organization, welfare, etc.) and specific recommendations included such comments and suggestions as:

1) The BIA had no housing branch; considering the state of many Indian homes, it needed one.

2) The Bureau needed an information office to diseminate factual information about both Indians and the Bureau.

3) The Task Force recommended that qualified superintendents be rewarded in place with higher salaries, rather than by moving them to other reservations where salaries were higher. Thus a man who was accomplishing something with the Indians at a given agency would not have to start all over again elsewhere to build rapport, and specific Indian

peoples would not be deprived of a man who worked well with them.

4) Superintendents should (a) receive in-service training and (b) should serve a trial appointment at a given agency before being given a permanent appointment, since many men did not work well with a given group of Indians or Indians in general.

5) States should assume the responsibility for providing health, education, and welfare services in those areas where Indians commonly paid taxes based on sources other than property income--sales, excise, etc.

6) In general, the three-level organization was quite efficient, though minor changes were needed, as making the Navajo reservation an area office all by itself, not as a part of the Navajo-Pueblo area.

7) Public Law 280 should be amended to provide for the transfer of legal jurisdiction to states only on the basis of negotiated agreement between the Federal and state governments and the tribes.

8) Economic development on the reservations needed to be expanded; economic resource surveys were needed, as were broadened vocational programs and new credit sources for Indians.

9) There were several recommendations pertaining to education and these are covered in greater detail than the recommendations concerning the other areas of the Task Force Report.

a) Indian children should not have to be bussed if young, housed in off-reservation dormitories, or go to schools inferior to BIA schools; schools should be located close to the Indian people they were supposed to serve.

b) Summer sessions for Indian students beginning college should be encouraged.

c) The use of schools the year round should be investigated. The rotation of semesters was one example of how full school year implementation was possible.

d) More scholarships were needed.

e) Summer programs should be continued.

f) School districts on the reservations should be established and the BIA should transfer responsibilities to these districts. Federal money should be made available if needed.

g) Roads and school plants needed to be improved.

h) The Bureau needed to involve Indian parents in the planning of school programs; tribal education committees were not enough. Parent-Teachers' Associations were needed.

i) The children of BIA employees should attend the Bureau schools--discouraging the attendance of non-Indians while advocating an end to Indian segregation made BIA policies appear somewhat "inconsistent" (26).

j) An educational survey of "the impact of the changing [educational] policies on the community and on the children" was needed, preferably by an independent research team.

k) Teachers needed more in-service training workshops, and college preparation in the teaching of English and in methods of teaching English.

The introduction to the Task Force Report expressed the opinions of the team members concerning the goals and current activities of the BIA. Aims of the Bureau were felt to be directed toward three activities:

> 1) To create conditions under which the Indians will advance their social, economic, and political adjustment to achieve a status comparable to that of their non-Indian neighbors;
>
> 2) To encourage Indians and Indian tribes to assume an increasing measure of self-sufficiency;
>
> 3) To terminate, at the appropriate times, Federal supervision and services special to Indians (5).

However:

> The Task Force feels that recent Bureau policy has placed more emphasis on the last of these three objectives than on the first two... Now, many Indians see termination written into every new bill and administrative decision... (5).

The Task Force then suggested its own goals for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, worded a bit more shortly than the above three goals, but essentially the same. A difference of attitude appeared in the paragraph following the suggested activities.

> In the opinion of the Task Force, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should seek attainment of the following related objectives.
> 1) Maximum Indian economic self-sufficiency
> 2) Full participation of Indians in American life.
> 3) Equal citizenship privileges and responsibilities for Indians.
>
> The Task Force strongly emphasizes that the aid of the tribe--or, more properly, the Indian community--is crucial to the achievement of these objectives and this support should be secured before projects are commenced. The Indians can

> retain their tribal identities and much of their culture while working toward a greater adjustment and for further enrichment of our society, it is in our best interests to encourage them to do so (8).

Anti-Bureau sentiment among Congressmen had decreased significantly between the time of John Collier's administration and the time for the selection of a new Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1961. Hearings to discuss the nomination of Phileo Nash for the position were brief and characterized by a moderate tone concerning the BIA's handling of the Indian problem (perhaps this was because it was obvious that Nash knew more about the problems of Indian groups and had talked with more Indians than the whole Senate subcommittee put together). It seemed to be accepted by the senators, in contrast to past years, that eliminating the Indian Bureau would not make Indians go away, and that the job of either assimilating Indians or merely getting them to be self-supporting would not be accomplished by placing Indians under the jurisdiction of the states and letting the problems go at that. If anything, there was an attitude of resignation among some senators, those who saw the state of the Indian as continuing on without any aspects of improvement and at the expense of the Federal Government. These senators objected to the expenses incurred because of BIA programs which could not guarantee future success, but these senators objected even more to the expenses which would accrue to the states if the Bureau wasn't there to share costs.

This does not mean, however, that the senators on the subcommittee were any less inclined to view the eventual assimilation of American Indians as desirable or necessary.

Nash's qualifications for Commissioner included a Ph.D. in anthropology, roughly two years of field work among various Indian groups, and a great deal of experience in politics. From 1937 through 1942, he had been a lecturer in anthropology at the Universities of Wisconsin and Toronto; from 1942 to 1946, he had been Special Assistant in the Office of War Information; and from 1946-52, he had been a Special Assistant in the White House. In 1959, Nash became Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin, and in 1961, served as a member of the Secretary of the Interior's Task Force on Indian Affairs. Other positions included the vice-chairmanship of the Menominee Tribal Trust, a member of the Board of Directors of the Association of American Indian Affairs, and chairman of the Wisconsin Democratic Party. A rather beautiful blend of experiences for a Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Much of the testimony at the nominating hearings centered around Nash's role (and opinions) in the Menominee termination proceedings and the Task Force Report prepared by Nash and others. Nash's view on the philosophic directions the Bureau of Indian Affairs should take correlated closely with the views expressed in the Task Force Report.

> Mr. Anderson...In the Indian task force report there is some language about the fact that the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has dominated much of the Federal Indian policy in recent years. Do you regard it as desirable or undesirable for

> the Bureau of Indian Affairs to work itself out of a job?
>
> Mr. Nash. I do not see how it would be possible for the advances to be made that all of us seek without the aid of the Bureau. I think the Bureau's role needs to be modified. I think that in years past there has been too much attention to the programs that are custodial in their nature, that are protective of property and the necessary care of needy persons, and not enough emphasis on those programs that are developmental, both of resources and of people.
>
> To turn the Indians loose without Bureau assistance, without the technical guidance that the Bureau can provide would be, I think, a great disservice to them and to the country and to the States in which they reside...
>
> Mr. Nash...It seems to us--and I support this position wholeheartedly--that we can reach the goals we all seek and accept, namely, integration of American Indians into American society and American life better by concentrating on programs of development, and less on concerning ourselves with the time and place and manner of termination. We have a long way to go, for whatever reason, and the task force felt--and I concur with it--that we will require Indian cooperation. We are committed to Indian consultation. We will make better progress toward the common goal by concentrating on development rather than on saying to the groups "You are going out in 5 years; you are going out in 10 years" and so forth (Hearings 1961:11).

For Nash, the purpose of the Bureau was to provide technical assistance and community services which would help Indian peoples to determine their own rate of social change and integration (49). At the same time, he did expect the Bureau to pursue a goal of eventual assimilation of the American Indians, though not in his time.

> Senator Burdick. We are dealing with a very difficult and complex question... I am impressed with the thesis of his argument which seems to be that it is the function of the Bureau to be concerned with developmental policies rather than the custodial policies.

If you became Commissioner of Indian Affairs will all your policy programs be geared in that direction?

Mr. Nash. Yes, sir.

Senator Burdick. To the end that this part of American citizens will be integrated, to use that word, into the mainstream of American life?

Mr. Nash. That would be our goal (75).

Educational Philosophy and Programs

The Nash administration saw few fundamental changes in educational policy, due in part to the fact that there was no change in educational administration--Hildegard Thompson remained as Director of Education. There was, however, greater implementation of programs begun during the Emmons administration (in adult education and vocational training beyond high school, for example) and a growing awareness of the social problems--and their complexities--among Indian children. The emphasis still remained upon placing Indians in public schools; at the same time, there were requests for greater appropriations for the construction of schools and dormitories, and the implementation of school programs.

The problems facing the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the field of education were laid out by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall in his 1961 Report.

> We, as a people, face a major challenge in schooling and in vocational preparation of the Indians. We are still short 5,000 classroom seats to accommodate children of school age who are not now enrolled in any school--State, Federal, or private. We need to relieve the serious overcrowding which has developed in many of the schools presently operated by the Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs. We need to replace obsolete and dilapidated structures with up-to-date facilities. A good start has already been made, but with the population growth that faces us on the reservations, we have a major challenge in this area alone. We also must work continuously to improve the quality of classroom instruction. As one example, the children who come from non-English speaking homes, have special needs which have not been met in the past, but which must be met. In all of these matters, the basic aim is to insure that the present and future generations of Indian children receive the same educational advantages, the same

> educational opportunities as other children throughout the country. It is not a simple problem, and it is a very important one (46).

In the spring of 1961, the Bureau began a program of accelerated school construction. The Task Force Report had noted that many of the Bureau's dormitories (both on and off the reservations) were badly overcrowded and that many schools contained unsafe features due to deterioration through age or use, lack of repair, etc. In addition, the Report considered that nearly 9,000 children between the ages of 6 to 19 were not enrolled in any school, and of that number, "almost 5,000 of these were not enrolled because of a lack of classroom space". The accelerated construction program aimed for three objectives over a period of the following four years:

> 1) Elimination of the most serious overcrowding in Federal Indian school facilities; 2) correction or elimination of the deficiencies that represent health or safety hazards; and 3) construction of enough additional classrooms and related facilities to accommodate all Indian children needing education under Bureau auspices (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1962:27).

In fiscal 1962, the Bureau completed 18 projects, adding 675 seats to the Bureau system, and initiated 40 other projects. The more important of the completed projects were additions to the existing schools at Teec Nos Pos on the Navajo Reservation, the Dunseith School on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, and the Busby School on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana. A new school was begun at Tuba City (Navajo) and additions were initiated at seven other locations on the Navajo Reservation (Shonto--212 seats; Dilcon--188 seats; Dennehotso--147 seats; Hunter's Point--118 seats; Crownpoint--150 seats; Tohatchi--136 seats; and Pueblo Pintado--150 seats). In the Portland Area, one day school was closed and a reservation boarding school was transferred to dormitory operation. In the Gallup Area, one trailer school and two reservation boarding schools were closed. A day school in the Phoenix Area was closed and a hospital school associated with the Public Health Service Indian Hospital was not operated, while in the Juneau Area one new day school opened, one closed and two day schools were operated as Instructional Aid Schools.

By July of 1963 (fiscal 1963) 38 projects were completed involving the repair or construction of facilities for 5000 seats, and 38 other construction projects were underway. It was planned that these projects would provide roughly 6000 new seats to the Bureau school system and replace approximately 3700 others. The Concho Demonstration School was opened, and in the Gallup Area, two day schools were transferred to boarding school operations. A new day school was opened for the Seminole; two day schools were closed at Cherokee; and at Brigham City, a hospital school was opened in connection with the Intermountain School.

There was also a revision of standards for school construction in 1962. The then-current standards were designed primarily for elementary schools; joint consultation between the educational and construction personnel resulted in

TABLE V

Types of school	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Total	277	270	263	264	263
Non-res. bd.	15	15	15	80	80
Res. bd.	62	62	59		
Day	176	170	166	163	163
Trailer	15	14	13	11	11
Other	9	9	10	10	9
Dormitories	19	19 (3953)	20	20 (4082)	19

construction standards more in line with requirements for the high school grades--libraries, science laboratories, etc.--and dormitories for the older students.

In 1964, day schools were closed in the Aberdeen Area (burned), at Cherokee, and in the Juneau Area, which also saw the opening of two new day schools. A new boarding school opened in the Gallup Area, and a school was transferred to the public in the Phoenix Area.

The BIA school curriculum structure grew farther from the teaching of vocational subjects in either junior high or high school. As had been apparent through the Emmons administration, the emphasis in curriculum was toward the academic subjects taught in public school systems. Vocational training became separated from the more academically-oriented schools and reappeared in programs outside of and additional to the regular school program. Quite often vocational training was directed to the "unschooled"--older people who had little or no schooling, and school dropouts. The programs were certainly not designed to appeal to a prospective high school graduate or college-bound individual. Thus, in reviewing the Commissioner's Report to the Secretary, vocational training was not mentioned under the "education" heading, but in sections variously titled "adult education","vocational training activity", and "adult vocational training". Agricultural training (dairying, farming, herding, etc.) was eliminated in some schools and substantially reduced in others. In the fiscal year 1963-64, Congress authorized increased appropriations for adult vocational training from $7.2 million to $12 million, and in 1965, appropriations were again increased to $15 million. An amendment to the 1963-64 bill provided for 36 months of training in nursing to enable students utilizing the bill to qualify for an R.N. degree.

The rationale for the changing emphasis on vocational training was partially due to the realization that automation increasingly was making employment in non-skilled jobs and semi-skilled jobs more difficult to find; therefore if Indians were going to be able to find employment they must be skilled either vocationally or academically, and either type of training "required workers with a much better general education than was formerly necessary" (Thompson 1964: 118). Secondly, it was foreseen that even a high school graduate would be under-educated in twenty years or so, and if Indians were to obtain better jobs and better standards of living, many of them would have to enter college--and colleges required academic courses for entrance, not vocational training.

> If high school is not enough, high school programs should lay a strong base for further training beyond the high school in the trades, for the professions, in technical fields. Consequently, more and more of this generation of high school students should receive the kind of education that will prepare them for at least two years of training beyond the high school. As many as can be brought up to adequate levels should be encouraged to aspire to more than two years beyond high school (Thompson 1964:111).

Changes in Bureau school curriculum organization came after an administrator's conference in 1957. In relation to vocational education, the following recommendations were made:

1) More emphasis on academic skills and less on industrial arts in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades.

2) The emphasis on terminal vocational training (employment at the end of high school training) in high school should be shifted toward a generalized industrial arts program, as found in the "ordinary high school curriculum"--woodworking, home economics, etc.--for both boys and girls. This emphasis would prepare either for further training beyond high school or be generally useful knowledge for living regardless of vocation.

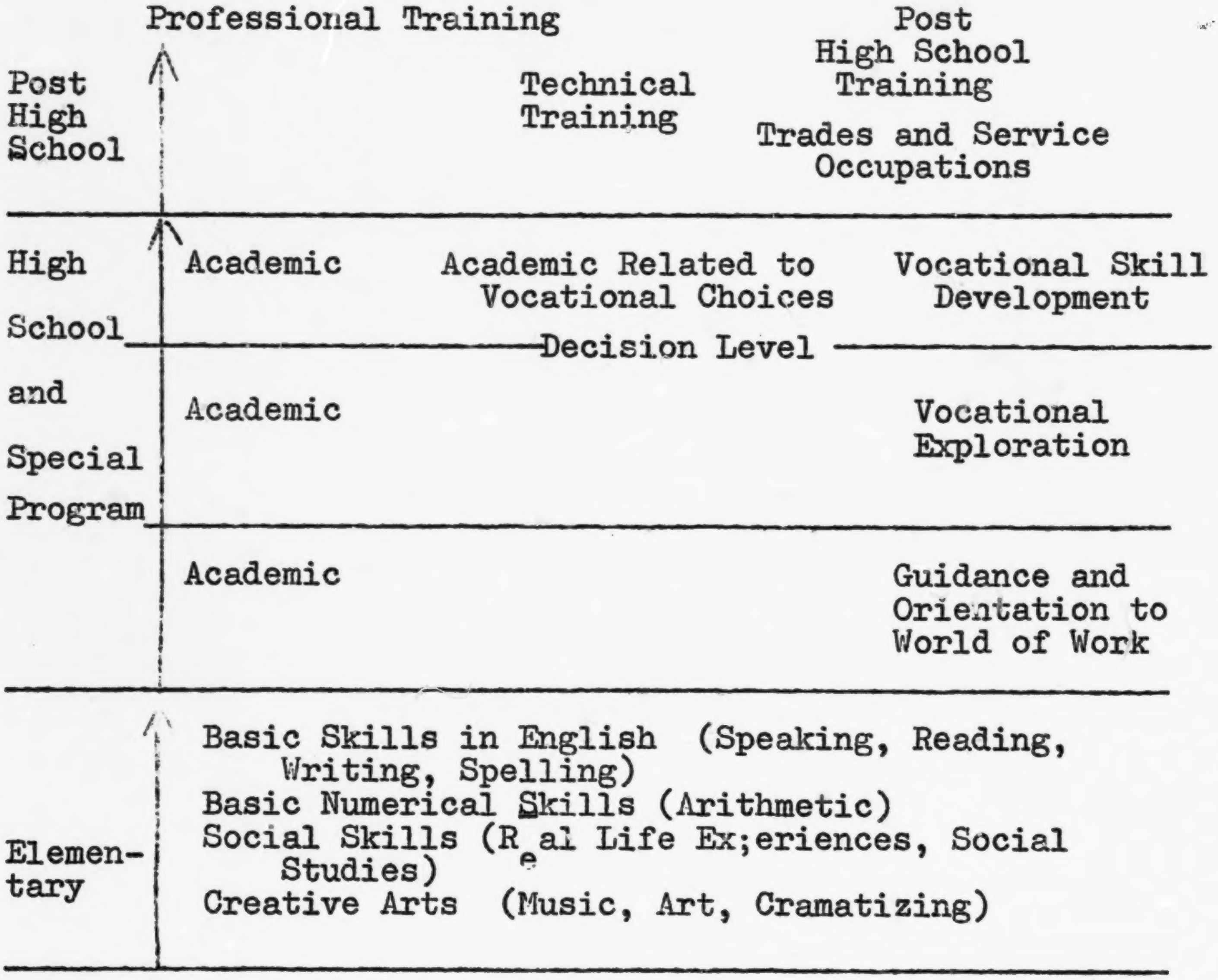
3) Terminal vocational courses which are retained should not begin earlier than the 10th grade and preferably not until the 11th.

> This type of vocational offering should be retained only when the following conditions prevail: a) If there are employment opportunities in the field of work. b) A sufficient number of students seek the type of training to make the offer practicable. A vocational certificate should be offered rather than a high school diploma (Thompson 1964:111).

The following "chart-pattern" was developed to illustrate the progress of a child as he moved through school.

The chart itself was accompanied by several notes of explanation and expectation. Academic learning was considered a necessary part of vocational training. Pupil aptitude and guidance and a careful evaluation of employment opportunities were to be quite important in the selection of a student's vocation. Job placement was considered

The Program Pattern of Vocational Education
Bureau of Indian Affairs



Post High School	Professional Training	Technical Training	Post High School Training Trades and Service Occupations
High School	Academic	Academic Related to Vocational Choices	Vocational Skill Development
		Decision Level	
and Special	Academic		Vocational Exploration
Program	Academic		Guidance and Orientation to World of Work
Elementary	Basic Skills in English (Speaking, Reading, Writing, Spelling) Basic Numerical Skills (Arithmetic) Social Skills (Real Life Ex;eriences, Social Studies) Creative Arts (Music, Art, Cramatizing)		

The Child
1. Needs
2. Abilities
3. Handicaps

a necessary aspect of job training, and placement follow-up was accepted as beneficial to both the student and the program itself.

In the early 1960's (1962, 1963), a series of workshops took place which again influenced curriculum design, although the changes were largely directed toward the Special Navajo Program and the schools participating in it. And, at an education conference for school administrators involved in Navajo education, several factors were brought out which indicated that a change was needed in the structuring of the program.

> Students were now entering school two or three years younger; they were more verbal, more sophisticated, and they now had several years of educational experiences behind them before entering off-reservation schools. Paradoxically, there were other factors adversely affecting, to varying degrees, the progress of today's student that had not been prevalent in the earlier years of the Special Program. Students were less highly motivated and were less able to achieve academically, many more students were facing severe emotional problems, and often they posed a sophistication based on experiences undesirable or incompatible with life in a school setting. Thus it became apparent that Bureau shhools could not meet the needs of students so identified, solely by offering a traditional-graded high school program (280).

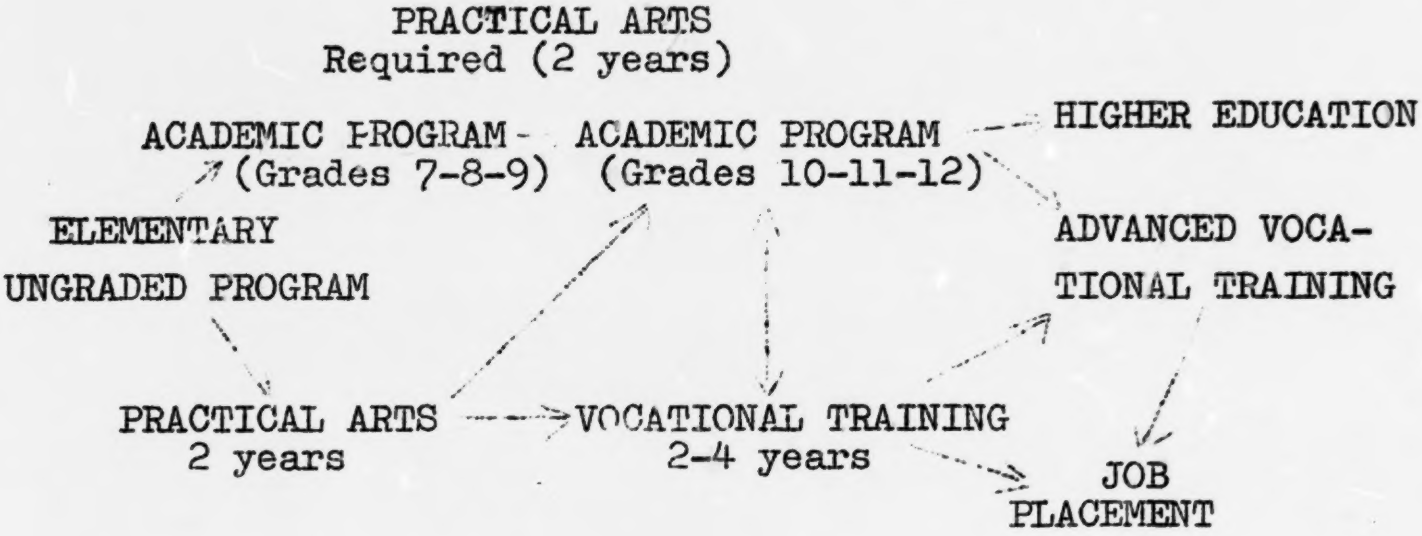
In January, 1962, a "steering committee" composed of

> ...all off-reservation boarding school superintendents, Area Directors of Schools concerned with Navajo education, Navajo Agency personnel, including tribal education committee representatives, and the Field Technical Staff...(280)

met at the Intermountain School to discuss goals, procedures and guidelines for revising the Special Navajo Program, including a change of name. In addition,

> ...it was agreed that the program would (a) be geared to the needs of the students, (b) be flexible to adjust to the needs as they change, and (c) keep the doors open for each student to progress as rapidly as he is able and to his maximum...(1964:280).

At Chemawa, in the following academic year (1962-63), major objectives and an overall philosophy for the program were developed. The following organizational chart and the rather lengthy plan of procedures evolved as follows:


PRACTICAL ARTS
Required (2 years)
ACADEMIC PROGRAM
(Grades 7-8-9)
ACADEMIC PROGRAM
(Grades 10-11-12)
HIGHER EDUCATION
ELEMENTARY
UNGRADED PROGRAM
ADVANCED VOCATIONAL TRAINING
PRACTICAL ARTS
2 years
VOCATIONAL TRAINING
2-4 years
JOB
PLACEMENT

> Agreements reached during the discussion were as follows:
>
> 1. The elementary program will be ungraded.
> 2. The time pupils remain in the elementary program will be dependent upon the level at which they enter, their ages upon entrance, and the rate at which they attain the goals of the program.
> 3. Pupils may progress from the elementary ungraded program into the junior high program, the more conventional academic course, or into courses designed for those who are extremely overage and desire earlier termination of their formal schooling.
> 4. Classes for students in the lower levels of the junior high school program will probably be carried on in self-contained classrooms. The upper

> levels may or may not be departmentalized, dependent upon local conditions.
>
> 5. The length of time required of students to complete the junior high program will depend upon such variables as age at admittance, teacher evaluation, level of achievement, and rate of progress.
> 6. Goals for the elementary ungraded and the two tracks of the junior high school will be worked out.
> 7. Two years of practical arts training will be required of all students.
> 8. Upon completion of the junior high level, students who have earned two or more high school credits may elect to enter the senior high school program or they may choose the vocational training route.
> 9. Those completing the vocational training program may look forward to job placement or advanced vocational training.
> 10. Those completing the academic high school program may look forward to job placement, additional vocational training, or higher education (Thompson 1964:281-82).

The results of the Chemawa Workshop and the realization that problems faced by Navajo students were some of the same problems faced by other Indian students in both public and Bureau shcools resulted in further workshops for both teachers and administrators at Intermountain; as an outgrowth of these workshops and the experience gained at trial ungraded, flexibly-scheduled schools, a curriculum guide, Steps to Learning, was developed "for the use of teachers working with overage, academically-retarded students in grades 7 through 12." Thus the fields of language arts, mathematics, social sciences and science and guidance were broken into

> ...basic concepts or basic understandings which would cut across all grade levels of learning, listing them in sequential order where pertinent. The activities developed including the outcomes or aims would vary with the needs of a given child depending upon his maturity, achievement ability, and vocational goals

> in life. The suggested activities would be the "depth variable" in the learning opportunities presented. Thus this approach would enable a seventh grade student achieving on a fourth-grade level to study the same basic understanding that constitutional government is necessary in a democracy by relating his activities to his classroom constitution as it would a senior student in high school studying problems of democracy. References were researched within the manpower and time limitations to give specific help to you as a teacher.
>
> The format of the guide consisting of (a) basic understandings, (b) suggested activities, and (c) resource materials was kept simple, again to get a start in what is hoped you, as a teacher, can help to make a strong force in direction for all new teachers entering the Bureau; also, help for those now employed and struggling with the moot question of what do you teach in each subject (283).

Further recommendations advanced in November of 1963 were for changes similar to those to be put into effect at Navajo schools. Thus in junior high school, it was recommended that practical arts courses (i.e., knowledge of purchasing, consumer goods, packaging, money management, all emphasizing a "practical knowledge of modern living") replace exploratory shop programs, that there should be a major emphasis on a basic program "which aims at competency in oral communication, reading writing, and arithmetic, and that there should be programs to expand the range of learning experiences for students during their out-of-school hours and improve their ability to relate to other people" (284). In senior high school, again practical arts courses were to replace vocational courses, vocational guidance and counseling were to be intensified and expanded, special programs for academically retarded students needed to be organized to enable them to "catch up with and continue in the regular program" (285), and plans for retraining and reorienting teachers to teach newly designed practical arts courses, vocational guidance, modern living, English, reading, mathematics, science, and social studies should be developed, with emphasis on in-service training programs, refresher programs, and summer sessions at colleges and simply "keeping up with the literature."

The goal of vocational education in high school was no longer to prepare an Indian student for a job upon graduation but to give him the intellectual skills to pursue further education and training.

> There will be more instruction that is basic to preparation for vocations, and thus instructions will reach more students, not less. The changes that will be made in instruction in the vocational departments of the schools will be threefold--purpose, content, and emphasis. The purpose will be to equip each youth educationally for further preparation after high school, rather than to prepare him for placement immediately following high school. This, in turn, requires a reexamination of content to make it broader rather than highly specialized. The emphasis will be to acquaint Indian youth with career possibilities in today's world.
>
> This indicates that the vocational departments should place greater emphasis on exploratory instruction and less emphasis on terminal skill development. The adjusted program needs to be supported by a strengthened occupational guidance program. The change in purpese, content, and emphasis, and the extensions of the preparatory program to all students in the school will not result in lessening the responsibility of the vocational departments in our schools. It will increase their responsibility (278).

Beginning in 1960, the Bureau started summer school programs on 27 reservations and at 10 non-reservation boarding schools. There were four main focuses of the summer programs:

1) Recreation, which included sports and games,

> ...is aimed at teaching students how to use their leisure time constructively and thus develop a sense of the responsibilities of good citizenship. Activities included Scouting, 4-H Club work, arts and crafts, Little League baseball, softball, playground games, camping, swimming, golf, tennis, volleyball, archery, badminton, and bowling. All helped fill the summertime void for students by developing a heightened sense of fairplay and sportsmanship, fostering social adjustment in group activities, and broadening the scope of associations with non-Indians. These attitudes may well carry over into other facets of the students' lives (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1963:18).

2) Academic instruction, which "emphasized remedial work in the skill subjects with special attention given to oral and written English" (1962:30). In 1962, pre-school sessions for beginners in school were initiated; in these sessions, teachers "concentrated on widening the conceptual background" of the children, and emphasized the English language.

3) Stu employment, which provided the opportunity for teen-aged students (probably boys) to earn money by employing them on projects concerned with the conservation of timber, soil, and other natural resources.

> The work of the students has contributed to the advancement of the resource programs and also has given the participants a greater measure of self-respect and pride in being able to earn money. These work opportunities also helped encourage many students to remain in school (1963:18).

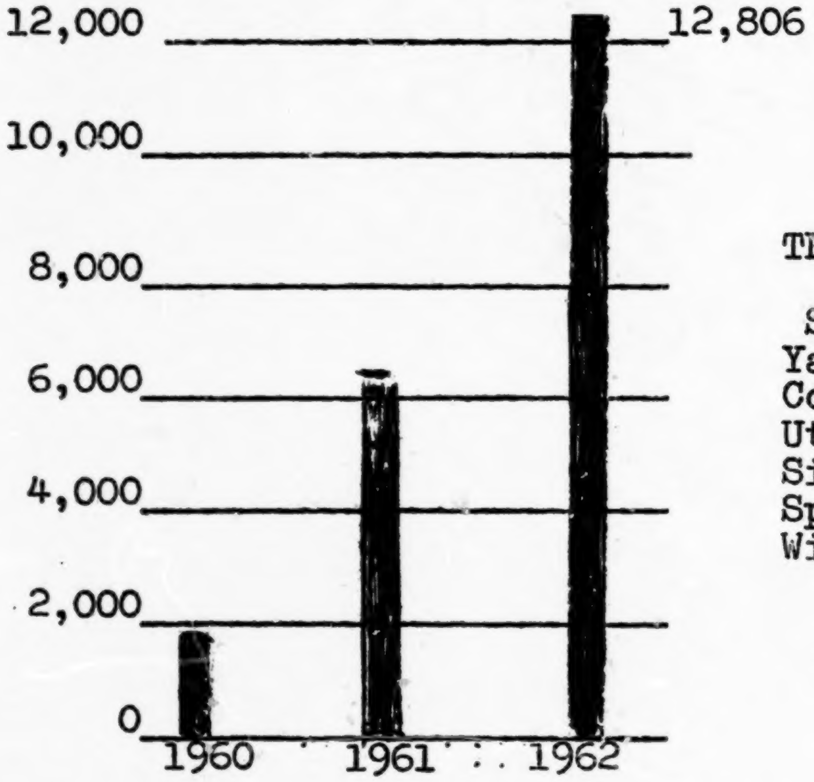
4) Field trips.

> Many Indian children from reservation homes have had little or no experience outside the immediate periphery of their reservations and this deficiency is frequently reflected in the classroom achievement of the students at certain academic levels. Educational field trips helped broaden the students' horizons. The young

> sters visited our larger cities, used shopping centers, and stayed in hotels and motels. In addition they were guided to scenic and educational points of interest. They thus acquired the kind of enriching experiences most non-Indian youngsters consider commonplace. These experiences, in turn, had classroom value since they gave a new dimension of meanings to many topics discussed in their studies (1963:18).

The following chart indicated the growing number of participants in the summer programs:

Number of Indian Children
Participating in Summer Programs



PROGRAMS
work
academic
recreation
enrichment

TRIBAL COUNCILS PARTICIPATING
San Carlos, San Felipe, Yakima, Colorado River, Coville, Zuni, Consolidated Ute, Laguna, Navajo, Omaha, Sisseton, Shoshone, Warm Springs, White River, Winnebago, Seminole, Unitah

Effects of the program, in the opinions of Bureau officials, varied from the obvious (i.e., students earned money) to the gratifying but somewhat unexpected--juvenile delinquency was reduced in those locations offering a summer program and a large percentage of the student participants returned to school in the fall, their attitudes about school changed by their activities in the summer programs (1961:289; 1962:31).

In October 1962, the Bureau opened the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe. Previously the Santa Fe Indian School (high school), the Institute was created in a flurry of controversy, as indicated by the following excerpt from Indian Truth.

> The Indian high school at Santa Fe had had a long and respected tradition of promotion of art. When the senior high school transferred to Albuquerque the Bureau promised to continue the junior high school at Santa Fe, but it was announced that the elementary and junior high schools would be closed, and there would be established an Institute of Indian Art at the senior high level with two years of post-graduate work, for selected art-interested students. This decision was strenuously protested by the All-Pueblo Council, by the New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs, and by the teachers of the school. It is a complex situation, with much to be said on both sides, but the principal cause of the disagreement is the decision by former Commissioner Emmons and the Chief for Education to take this action without consulting the Indians involved. Pueblo Indians had felt that it was their school, and there is continuing need for a boarding school at Santa Fe. There are not enough seats in existing schools for all Pueblo and Navajo children. However, this does not negate the propriety of a specialized school at a higher level. But the establishment of this school for an "arts elite" does not justify the current policy of abandonment of art instruction everywhere else, either. Commissioner Nash, when brough into the controversy, has made the best of a bad situation by promising to continue the regular school program for a reduced number of students for another year, while the Art Institute enrollment is built up. It is to be hoped that both a regular boarding school and the Art Institute can be maintained at Santa Fe. Recruiting for the latter is already something of a problem, indicating that the planned size of 500 art sutdents may be an over-estimate (Autumn, 1962:7).

The first year of operation, in conjunction with the Santa Fe boarding school, saw the enrollment of 150 students from 74 tribes. Enrollment for the fall of 1963 was planned to be approximately 300 pupils, with the majority of students returning from the previous year. The Institute was planned as a senior high school offering a usual academic course of study and a "junior college"--that is, it would offer two years of post-graduate work in the creative arts.

> The curriculum included a fully accredited academic program with special emphasis on the vocational implications of fine and applied arts. The postgraduate students concentrated on a major and minor field in the arts and were required to enroll in at least two academic courses related to their art studies. Specialized instructions and guidance were provided in painting, sculpture, jewelry craftsmanship, ceramics, design and printing of textiles, and creative writing, Advanced academic courses were available, at the student's expense, at a nearby college (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1963:17).

There wer other "post-high school" programs. At Haskell Institute, a four year vocational training school, the 9th grade was eliminated in 1962 in order to furnish room for post-graduate training in electronics, the building trades, and business and commercial subjects. The following year, the 10th grade was eliminated, and the two higher grades were to be eliminated as rapidly as space and facilities could be found for the remaining students. Chilocco Indian School also began to offer post-high school vocational courses. In 1962, 4,500 Indian students had enrolled in post-high school training and 2,900 in college courses leading to a degree. In 1963, the latter figure had increased to over 3,000 with a dropout rate of 19.6%. Also by 1962, adult education programs were operating on 27 agencies at 127 communities. Fifty-one people had completed the courses required for high school graduation and it was estimated that approximately 6,700 adult Indians had participated in some phase of the program.

The Bureau continued to offer its series of "special activities" for the teachers and administrators of the BIA school system. In 1962, an education workshop was held to discuss guidelines and criteria for the implementation of previously-formulated superior teaching standards. This "Master Teacher Program" was an outgrowth of authorization to promote "superior teachers" to a GS-9 position without requiring them to cease being teachers in the classroom.

A workshop on the teaching of English as a second language was held in 1963, featuring "some of the country's outstanding experts on the Indian languages and their relationship to English" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1963: 20). The results of the conference reflected a philosophy of greater concentration on the orientation of the teachers rather than on methods of teaching.

> As a result of the conference, arrangements were made for developing a series of tape-recorded training lessons for orienting school personnel who work with Navajo-speaking pupils. A second series of tapes is to be used in connection with other southwestern tribes. The conferees also recommended better pretraining and more thorough orientation of BIA teachers in the cultural and language backgrounds of the people they are going to teach, employing linguistis to develop materials for use in language laboratories and to select vocabularies that will facilitate language learning at various levels, and revision of the "Minimum Essential Goals" document used in all BIA schools to reflect more accurately the Bureau's current philosophy of English language teaching (1963:21).

Other programs included the series of workshops and conferences to discuss changes in the Special Navajo Education Program, discussed earlier.

Bureau officials evidenced increasing concern with the dropout rate and the social-psychological problems of Indian students. George Boyce noted that "in days gone by, not too much concern was given to the matter [of a high dropout rate]. There was a great shortage of school seats, anyway, for Indian children" (1964:79). But by the 1958-59 school year, all but 8,963 children between the ages of 6 and 18 were reported as being enrolled in school. The dropout rate, however, was such that 60% of Indian students left school before graduation from high school; in many cases, these students completed only the fifth or sixth grades and never returned to school at all.

The summer school programs were one response to the problem of a high dropout rate. A second response was the initiation of the Concho Demonstration School in Oklahoma. Two cottage dormitories at the Concho School were rennovated to provide living quarters, classrooms, and recreation facilities for students who had dropped out of school or had shown "a pronounced inclination to do so." The school apparently had a dual purpose: to aid students who had educational difficulties and personal problems, and to train teaching personnel "who need help in developing skills and programs in working more effectively with students who are potential dropouts or in need of educational motivation" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1962:31).

The first year of operation (1962-63) saw an enrollment of 78. When it was felt that the students had individually "reached the proper stage in terms of motivation and academic preparedness", they were transferred back to their former schools or to other schools "believed to be better equipped to meet...individual needs" (1963:21). Twelve students of the 78 were not in school at all at the end of the first year, 27 were still at Concho, and 32 were attending schools to which they had been transferred. During the 1963-64 school year, 90 students attended for varying lengths of time; by the end of the year, 38 of the 90 had been transferred to other schools.

A study conducted in 1958 by the Bureau (The Indian Child Goes to School) attempted to determine actual levels of academic achievement by Indian children in all schools and to find, if possible, reasons for low achievement levels. A total of 23,608 students were given the complete battery of California Achievement Tests; of this number of pupils, 58% were Indian and 42% were non-Indian, mostly from rural public schools which enrolled Indian children also.

The results indicated that up to the second grade and in spite of language difficulties, Indian children reached achievement levels that were equal to those reached by white children. But as the children passed beyond Grade 2, the scores of Indian children began to drop in comparison with the scores of white students, until, by the 6th grade, Indian pupils were as much as two grades behind the achievement levels of white pruils, even though Indian children did consistently well in basic arithmentic and spelling tests.

It was noted also that the median grades of non-Indian children in rural schools, while better than the scores of Indians, were progressively lower than published norms nationwide.

One of the possibilities given for this continuous failure to keep up was that it was not until the third grade and to an increasing degree thereafter that the use of language and the concepts dependent on language began to be utilized heavily in school. Thus children without the "world-view" inherent in English, the language of the school's culture and the medium of study and communication, and the ability to communicate freely in English, began to fall behind scholastically because they literally did not talk the same language.

Partially related to the above viewpoint was that expressed by George Boyce--that the experiences of the Indian child were not related to the material taught in the schools. Thus the Indian child found it difficult to truly comprehend what a teacher was talking about.

> For example, teachers complain that Indian children can't read. The Indian child in a geography class may be studying about oceans. Actually he has no difficulty in reading the words. He can sound them out, and spell them. He may even be fully able to use a dictionary and look up the meaning of ocean. Here he finds that an ocean is a "wide body of water".
>
> Unfortunately, the widest water he has actually seen may be a wash or an arroyo when it is running after a rain. Or an irrigation ditch. His limited experience with what is "wide" throws him completely off. This is reported by geography teachers as a lack of sense of distance and time on the part of the Indian pupils (Boyce 1964:80-81).

Mrs. Thompson noted two other factors which tended to discourage students in school--poverty and a lack of parental encouragement. In the first instance, a student's--particullarly a teenager's--lack of spending money for extracurricular activities (a game ticket, a class ring, money for a date) were seen as critical factors important enough to result in frustration deep enough to cause a student to drop out of school.

> ...most Indian youth in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools lack spending money, funds for clothing, and funds to participate in the many small activities that mean everything to high school students. It is difficult to know how many students find a school situation intolerable to the point where they refuse to face it because they do not have clothes for a junior prom or funds for the class ring or spending money to take their girl to the movies (1964:231).

This rationale was used to support the summer program of youth employment. Unfortunately, this writer, at least, finds that the idea expressed above rather insults Indian youth (or any teenagers) and is blatantly based upon the belief that Indians are just like whites--that Indians might not be quite so status-oriented as whites (or oriented to different types of status) due to a different set of values is not considered. Neither does this explanation note that almost all Indian students were in the same boat--and people rarely get quite so frustrated over status symbols if the majority of them are in the same economic plane. Why drop out of school if one cannot have a class ring--most of the other students couldn't afford one either. (And why were such things introduced into BIA schools anyway?)

Poverty in its more debilitating aspects--lack of suitable clothing for a given climate, inability to raise or purchase nutritional foods (especially for young children) lack of medical care for any but serious diseases [9], dental problems, lack of suitable housing--was not faced by the Educational Branch of the Bureau, at least in Washington. I suspect this was partly due to the inability of a teaching staff or school administrator to really do anything about these faces of poverty, and certainly chatty editorials of encouragement as found in Indian Education could offer few concrete ideas or proposals to better conditions. So the truly difficult problems of poverty were ignored, even though they were far more likely to result in a series of school dropouts than the inability of a student to buy a class ring.

A lack of parental encouragement to Indian students was also seen as a factor in the Indian dropout rate (which conflicts with another repeatedly expressed belief that Indian parents were strongly in favor of formal education for their children), as was the condition of the home environment of the Indian child.

Both of these contentions are borne out by case studies and other material written on Indian reservation life. Without a place to study outside of the school, children had little opportunity to complete homework, and without parental enthusiasm, understanding and/or pressure to work on school studies, many children took the easier route of not doing anything at all, especially if they were behind already or did not really understand the lessons. Parental alcoholism, prostitution, broken homes, and the necessity to focus one's energies on sheer survival also contributed to the lack of accomplishment of children in school.

In the Bureau school system, at least, the extreme cases of disintegration of home and family life could be taken care of by removing the child from the situation and placing him in a boarding school. However, for some observers, both Indian and white, taking an Indian child from home and plunking him in a boarding school occurred with too great a frequency to be justified by the situation.

At the same time, the Bureau was not equipped, either in terms of economic resources, attitudes or skilled personnel, to initiate "salvage" programs among Indian families as a unit.

Other "root causes" of the dropout problem--and not recognized officially by the Bureau--were problems created by the Bureau school system itself. Boarding schools and the Bordertown Dormitories, in particular, were noted to be overcrowded, both in terms of physical conditions--double bunking, lack of privacy for students, etc.--and in terms of adult-child interpersonal relations. The boarding schools were expected to provide something of a surrogate home-life for the students living in them. The Nash administration embarked on a program of rennovation and rebuilding to relieve some of the crowded facilities but appropriations for buildings were easier to come by than appropriations for guidance personnel or psychologists, and much other than teaching personnel. In addition:

> One shortcoming in the boarding school program, criticized at various times by Apache leaders, is the lack of special facilities for the emotionally-disturbed Indian child. Each year found teenagers with serious personal problems being dismissed from public, mission, and even boarding schools. They returned to the reservation to generally poor home conditions and no future for which to live. Most of these students soon wound up in jail, incurring on occasion lengthy sentences, when instead they needed psychiatric care and a more constructive environment (Parmee 1968:102).

Another source of potential conflict was the differing viewpoints of Indians and the BIA. Here it might be best to review the educational philosophy and the goals of the educational program as expressed by Hildegard Thompson, for these are closely related, I feel, to the academic achievements of Indians in both Bureau and public schools. Or to put the situation in current terms, the Bureau philosophy was not relevant to the needs and wishes of Indian students and their parents.

Evaluation of Bureau Philosophy

In reviewing Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment, one is struck by the continuity of philosophy through the Emmons administration and into that of Phileo Nash. This is not particularly surprising when it is realized that Hildegard Thompson was Director of Education through both terms; in this position, she edited selected articles for Indian Education for inclusion in Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment. On the other hand, one would expect some shift of emphasis in policy when Nash became Commissioner on the basis of the differences between the viewpoints of Nash and Emmons on the goals of the Bureau. However, the only apparent change in education was an intensification of the programs begun during the Emmons administration, and even this may reflect nothing more than an increase in appropriations. There certainly was no unleashing of new ideas or programs by the Education Branch of the Bureau, a situation that might be contrasted to the operations of the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity during the years following 1961, many programs of which affected Indians and did so outside the structure of the BIA.

It is apparent that, for Mrs. Thompson, the goal of education was to assimilate Indian children into the life of working--or middle-class--America. A belief in the value or viability of differing cultures in a pluralistic society was totally absent in her writing, although nowhere does she disparage the Indian cultures or backgrounds from which Indian children came. The attitude was, rather, that the continuity of the varying Indian cultures was broken, and like Kent Fitzgerald, she felt that, because of the loss of aboriginal culture, there was only one path for Indians to follow--that which led to assimilation into the mainstream of American life. Education was a tool to make the path a little less rocky.

Mrs. Thompson occasionally encouraged teachers to learn about the cultural backgrounds of their Indian students, but with the assumption that by learning about an Indian culture, the teacher would be better equipped to persuade her pupils to accept American culture.

> Two great heritages meet face to face as you and Indian people work together. Both heritages are characterized by enduring values. The values of each bring deep meaning to life.
>
> In the meeting of these heritages, what is your role as an educator? Is it to change, destroy, or to replace Indian life? Let's think about it. Isn't it your responsibility to understand Indian life, and, in turn, to develop Indian understanding of the way of life you represent? From mutual understanding, strength will emerge and change will occur. Isn't it your task to open up new sources of knowledge: to make available and accessible the recorded knowledge and experiences of mankind but to leave the choice of change to the Indians themselves?
>
> Indians will choose from available sources that which they see as useful in their lives. The acceptance of new and useful aspects of contemporary life will often require a change in attitude and thinking. Most likely, it will mean the development of new skills and a reinterpretation of values in relationship to the newer conditions Indians face. When the choices are made by the Indians themselves, new concepts will be properly related to old concepts and both integrated in such a way that they will become an accepted

> part of Indian thinking.
>
> And, what is your role as an educator? You are the helper--your role is to assist individuals and groups to assess their problems, to supply them with information, and to help them develop the skills necessary to cope with their problems. You may help them understand the relationship of the new to the old so that they can accept necessary changes without sacrifice or damaging Indian individuality. Self-respect and respect of Indian heritage will not be lost, and cultural empathy will result from Indian-non-Indian associations (1964:29).

That an Indian might prefer a traditional way of life, even though being acquainted with white culture, did not apparently occur to Mrs. Thompson. Invariably, if Indian and white cultural systems were taught to the same individual, it was expected that traditional Indian culture traits would persist only if those traits did not conflict with white. And it is clear that those Indian values or behavior patterns which were in conflict with the values and culture patterns of Anglos would have to be subordinated if Indian children were to succeed in white culture.

The educational emphasis was to provide Indians with the abilities which would enable them to live in cities and in general, engage in wage work. The emphasis placed on fitting Indians for employment or self-support on the reservation as expressed by Collier and Beatty was largely replaced by a consideration of the available employment (as found in the Occupational Outlook Handbook of the Department of Labor) off reservations. Agriculture and animal husbandry, occupations which would have resulted in Indian students remaining on the reservations, were largely discontinued as a result of the low job opportunities for farm laborers and the increasing mechanization of and capital needed for profitable farming. Thus, teachers and guidance personnel were encouraged to persuade Indian students to plan for careers which would place them in jobs in American life and so off the reservations.

There were two accompanying viewpoints. One, that Indians themselves wanted to be educated into assimilation and 2) that the background of the Indian child was highly "culturally deprived". (Note the title of this series of articles. There is not one word about white children gaining "enrichment" by contact with Indian children.) In a discussion (actually a series of four articles from Indian Education) the teaching of English as a second language was utilized to explain, in essence, the goals and purposes of education.

> Will the purpose in teaching this second language be to induct him into the culture that speaks the second language? Hardly. Few people study Japanese to live the Japanese way of life; or Russian to become Russian, or Tagalog to become Filipino. Nationals of other countries do not study English to become Americans. The purpose is to give the learner an appreciation of a culture different from his own, to give an understanding of its people, and to give him command of the language system to permit cross-cultural communication of ideas.
>
> The second language, like a bridge, becomes a link between two culturally diverse backgrounds and permits communication from one to the other at whatever point the bridge is built. If the language is taught in the primary grades, it gives an opportunity to exchange experiences on childlike levels. If it is taught at higher levels--high school or college or adult--it affords an opportunity to cross cultures at those levels.

> In this setting, the primary purpose of learning the second language is to permit individuals, each literate in his own language, to communicate.
>
> Indians seek an education and want to learn English to the end that they may take their places in the mainstream of American life. They are not seeking merely a communication bridge. They are learning a new way of life; therefore, English for them must be more than a narrow bridge spanning two cultures. It must be a whole transportation system that will open up for them the recorded wisdom of the ages. That is the difference--a difference in purpose for learning English as a second language (1963:182-83).

Yet dispite Mrs. Thompson's belief that Indians themselves wished their children to acquire a good education and wanted to be assimilated in American life, there is evidence that this was not entirely accurate; or at least, there was evidence that many Indians did not wish to give up an Indian way of life themselves, and did not want to see their children forget their cultural heritage. It is true that the majority of, if not all, tribal councils favored education for their children, and both requested more schools for their children and, if possible, set up educational scholarship funds. But Mrs. Thompson noted (1964: 106) that the leading reason given (31%) for high school or junior high student withdrawal from school was the request of the parents for their child to return home.

Edward Parmee's study of education among the San Carlos Apache (1968) points up the conflict of values between the BIA and the Indian peoples the Bureau was attempting to educate.

> The education of the entire program...was toward the assimilation of Apaches in Anglo culture, an aim

> that was diametrically opposed to the desires of most Apaches, while the efforts to bring the goals and operations of the program into more extended agreement with the needs and desires of the Apache people were weak or nonexistent...(8).
>
> And this is where much of the conflict lies. While Indians are looking to formal education as a solution of many of their present problems--poverty, poor health, social disintegration, and political impotence, the factors which threaten to destroy the "Indian way of life"--Anglos view formal education as the key process for the peaceful assimilation of all Indian groups. The result is a conflict harboured within the fundamental aims of the program of Indian education itself. It is a conflict that endangers the successful fulfillment of the hopes of either side, and it seriously threatens the great reservoir of human potential inherent in the present and future generations of Indian youth...(16)
>
> A large segment of the Indian population today is not willing to have its identity thrown into the "melting-pot" so that it can be absorbed by the dominant Anglo culture. The members of this segment may seek a material standard of living equal to that of the White man, but they do not desire his code of values, nor do they wish to assimilate his cultural heritage: the philosophies, the legends, and the spiritual traditions that identify the Anglo-Americans as a part of "Western Civilization" (17).

The theme of cultural deprivation is perhaps the most persistent one in Bureau writings. Again and again it is pointed out that children from Indian homes have had little exposure to the experiences which white children find quite familiar, and that is is up to the Bureau school (or more specifically, the teacher) to provide these experiences or an awareness of them.

It should be noted that since many children spent most of their school lives in boarding schools, there was some justification for the belief that the schools should furnish 24-hour "experiences". Yet, the concept of an

Indian home repeatedly expressed in Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment is that of social disorganization (unemployment, broken homes), poverty, both materially and spiritually, lack of experiences and activities for either adults or children. There is no realization that Indian experiences might be just as enriching as the experiences of white children.

> These out-of-school experiences are educational in that they, first, contribute to each child's storehouse of ideas, and second, give meaning to much of his classroom instruction. They both extend and strengthen the efforts of the teacher and the school.
>
> How many of these educational experiences ordinarily provided by a modern home or a modern community do Indian children have? Some Indian children have the educational advantages that come from living in a modern community. They have traveled; they have been to zoos and libraries and museums. They have the advantages of books and radios and televisions in their homes. Their parents instill in them the importance of applying themselves to their school tasks. Usually these are the children of Indian parents who have had a tradition of schooling for one, two, or three generations. These Indian children do not have the same serious educational handicaps to overcome that many other Indian children have.
>
> Let us look at the Indian children who do not have the advantages described above. Who are they and what are their handicaps? In the 1960-61 school year more than 41,000 Indian children were enrolled in Federal schools. All of these children were in Federal schools because of some particular needs that did not apply to other children. They lived in isolated communities or they did not speak English or they had no opportunities to go to school until they were 9, 10, or even 16 or 17 years of age; or they failed to adjust in regular school situations or their home situations were undesirable. Most of these Indian children spoke only their Indian tongue when they entered school.
>
> If Indian children enter at six, they are already six years behind in spoken English by comparison with children who enter school at six speaking English.

> Most of these Indian children come from homes in the lowest income brackets. This means that the homes have been unable to furnish the standards of living that would provide experiences comparable to homes in middle-income brackets. Children from these economically impoverished homes have had little or no experiences that would extend or give meaning to the instruction of the school. Many of these children have not had books in their homes; they have never visited a zoo or a library or a museum. They have never ridden on a train or an airplane. They have never eaten in a modern restaurant nor have they seen the inside of a modern hotel.Because of the lack of education and due to financial inability, most of their parents regardless of their desire to do so, cannot give to their children the educational support that shows a high correlation between school success and home background.
>
> The Role of Schools for Indian Children
>
> For most of these children, the school must carry the full educational load. It must teach the English the children do not get at home. It must provide most of the educational motivation. It must, through whatever means it can devise, make up for the lack of educational experiences ordinarily gained at home and in the community. And, in many cases, the school must also substitute for the home by providing special care and emotional support for children from broken and undesirable homes.
>
> The question is: Can the school alone carry the triple responsibility of school, home, and community, and at the same time do the instructional task equally with other schools that enjoy the added strength provided by home and community? The answer is obvious.
>
> Can the school refuse to fill the the gap when home and community are unable, for various reasons, to carry their educational responsibility? Again, the answer is obvious. The school must do the best it can to fill the gap (187-88).

The most extreme statement of cultural deprivation appears in a short paper by Murray and Rosalie Wax (1964: 5-16), anthropologists working on the Sioux Reservation at Pine Ridge. "The Indian home and the mind of the Indian child are described as if they were empty or lacking in pattern". The Waxes note that Sioux Agency officials describe the home life of Indian children in terms of emptyness and "meager experiences." Their theory of the "function" of such descriptions and the rationale behind them is interesting and worth repeating.

> So far as we could see, this reservation Ideology of Cultural Deprivation serves the following functions: First, it places the responsibility for scholastic defeat on the Indian home and the Indian child; since the child is seen as entering school with an empty head, then surely it is a great achievement if he is taught anything whatsoever. Second, the Ideology is a carte blanche that justifies almost any activity within the school as being somehow "educational"; for, if the child is presumed deficient in every realm of experience, then the task of the school can properly be defined as furnishing him with vicarious experiences to compensate in every aspect of his life. Finally, the Ideology justifies the educators in their isolation from and ignorance of the Indian community; for, if the child actually had a culture including knowledge and values, then they ought properly to learn about these so as to build on his present status, but if he is conceived of as a vacuum on entering school, the educatiors may properly ignore his home and community.

The second and third points are particularly interesting. The belief that any activity carried on within the school is somehow educatinal approaches closely to being a direct carry-over from the educational philosophy of Willard Beatty and "progressive education", although it is doubtful that the progressive educationalists would have accepted the task of the school as being to furnish experiences, vicarious or not, "to compensate in every aspect of life". Perhaps a justification of this view of the educational value of "everything" in school is related to the concepts of the "nature" of children.

> If we accept Dr. Kilpatrick's statement that children will learn exactly and precisely what they live, we must reiterate the truism that children need many and varied experiences. These include people, places, and things and are carried on individually and with groups. The worthwhileness of such experiences will be in direct relation to the understanding, imagination, and guidance of the adult or adults who help to plan and execute them or merely to interpret experiences children may relate to them (Thompson 1964:146).

The third point is somewhat borne out by reviewing Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment. Adult Indians, representing home and community, are virtually ignored in articles concerning the education of children; one is struck by the absence of any role parents and grandparents are supposed to play in education, except perhaps a retarding one. The view of the BIA would seem to be that Indian parents are simply out of their depth in training children to take a place in the world and it would be much better to let the schools handle the whole problem.

> The traditionally oriented Indian home is at a loss today in helping its children understand and meet their tasks of growing up in a modern world. For the Indian child enrolled in a federal Indian school, the school personnel must assume this responsibility. The school must function, then, in an added area of guidance which for lack of a better term we shall call personal guidance (1964:200).

Summer school programs, day school programs, boarding school programs are all portrayed as if the world consisted of children and teen-agers and teachers and school administrators. The child is known to be Indian and therefore is of Indian culture, but the adult transmitters of that culture and those who first taught these children an Indian way of life do conceptually not exist. It goes without saying that Indian parents have no or minimal voice in what is taught or the extra-curricular activities that take place. While the first is rare even in white communities, the latter might be expected with some frequency within Indian groups. Yet in reviewing suggestions as to how BIA teachers might "enrich" their students' out-of-school hours, there is no suggestion that Indian parents be consulted or asked to participate.

As noted earlier, lack of parental encouragement in school was considered to be a prime factor in low academic achievement of Indian children and the high dropout rate. However, it is apparent that the Bureau itself made little effort to contact and communicate with parents in order to enlist their help in the mutual encouragement of Indian students. Instead, parents were viewed at best as absent, and at worst, as hindrances to the job of the school system. There was no effort made to explain to parents the purposes of the activities of the school. Thus in the case of parental resistance to education among the Apache

> Many of the Apache adults were ignorant of the real aims and methods of the education program, and hence hesitated to give it their full support. Those who possibly misunderstood or disagreed with certain aspects of the education program offered resistance to it because they felt it conflicted with some of their traditional Apache values.
>
> Many Apache adults showed resentment towards the program of education for their children because they had been so long kept out of the policy-making and operational aspects of the program (Parmee:7-8).

The latter point is a far more important one than

Washington officials and perhaps local officials realized, and it is one of the trends of the 1960's in relation to minority groups that self-government and power in the decisions affecting one's life are seen as necessary preconditions to becoming involved in community betterment, whether it be Indian schools, migrant camps, black ghettos, or the PTA.

> In the field of education the Apache tribe had for years been almost entirely dependent upon the BIA for financial aid and technical assistance. Consequently, Apaches had very little to say about the design and operation of their school programs. Requests by tribal leaders for improvements in the schools were continually held in abeyance by federal regulations, fiscal policies, and the opinions of BIA officials. Even many of the basic goals of the program were of Anglo rather than Apache origin, and most decisions concerning operational or policy changes were entirely in the hands of the BIA.
>
> Such conditions caused tribal leaders to appear impotent in the eyes of their people and they caused the people to harbor resentment towards the federal government, or Anglos in general, for what was felt to be social and political suppression...Equally unfortunate was the fact that continued dependency of this sort produced apathy and ignorance among the Apache people, of the kind brought to light during the discussion of causes of absenteeism above...Unable to think of the program as their own, many Apaches merely paid it a kind of lip-service, that was neither uncooperative nor affirmative. As a result of this attitude, attempts at community-school activities (PTA organizations and the like) often failed (83-84).

Lack of parental encouragement, then, could be traced in part to lack of parental involvement in those decisions affecting the schools, and the Bureau system did little to encourage a change in either situation, or to inform Indian parents of the activities, goals, and limitations of the schools.

Neither are there suggestions as to the use of an Indian child's cultural background either in school or out-of-school programs. Instead the attitude is that if one ignores Indian culture (but never denigrates it) and stuffs the child full of white culture patterns, then perhaps the child will approach the "assimilation point". This approach of stuffing the Indian child full of white culture patterns is perhaps most strongly emphasized in a series of articles written to encourage teacher participation in summer programs for Indian students.

> From September to May these students live in a school and dormitory environment that is highly organized and supervised. Always, there are adults in their environment to challenge their interests, to teach them, to guide their leisure and out-of-school activities. Their days are filled with varied activities: classroom instruction, study, sports, music, handicraft activities, chores and work activities, clubs and hobby activites and the like, all fitted into daily and weekly schedules that are fairly well formalized into routines. Always, close at hand are adults to support and guide them during their waking hours.
>
> From May to September
>
> Then comes May, and most of thes students return to their home communities. If they return to a home community where there are ample opportunities for the proper ratio of work and leisure-time activities, plus the support and guidance of adults of character with ar interest in youth, the summer vacation can provide a change that will be of great benefit to them. On the other hand, if they return to a community where there are no work opportunities, no wholesome leisure opportunities, and few adults to challenge their interests and to help them channel their energies into worthwhile activities, there is danger ahead (1964:221).

The Twentieth Century has been called the children's century. It is true much progress has been made in providing for their welfare, but there are still many

> areas that must have more attention. One urgent and vexing problem facing the Bureau of Indian Affairs is how to fill the unnatural gap caused by Indian school children having to spend at least three months of the year in idleness. Of course, many of the older students will be able to get employment. But what about the hundreds who will not?
>
> The day when the home can find work to occupy the time of all children is past. The school term with a summer recess was first established to meet the demands of an agricultural society. Children were needed to help put the crops in and to harvest them. Then they went to school in the winter when they could not work on the farm. Even today when machinery has replaced children in agriculture and labor laws protect them from industrial exploitation, too little is being done to fill the void in their lives caused by the three months' idleness.
>
> This summer in hundreds of small Indian communities many children will be faced with endless days of idleness. The Indian way of life where children were busy all the time has changed too. There is no more hunting the deer and the buffalo to replenish the family larder, no more helping with the weaving of the cloth or tanning of the hides for the family apparel. Indian youngsters need help in filling the void caused by the three months they must spend in idleness (Thompson: 228).

Adult supervison and organized activities were seen as the means to keep Indian children out of trouble; there is also the apparent belief that children in general and Indian children in particular do not have the capabilities for creating their own forms of amusement and developing their own interests by themselves. One also suspects that the three months of "unnatural idleness" (being organized to the point of the full day being a routine is natural?) were viewed with grave concern because it was then that Indian children were exposed to their cultural backgrounds most continuously. It would be interesting to find out how the summer vacations of white children were viewed by the

Bureau, and whether it was considered valuable for them too, to be directed and organized to the point where they were never on their own without supervision. (See Reichard 1939:61).

The transfer of Indian children from Bureau schools to public schools in the 4th through 6th grades created problems of social adjustment for many Indian children. In some instances, the problems were based on social prejudice against Indians and a different cultural background; in others the problems were caused by increased competition in academic endeavors, as Indian children faced harder classwork than that with which they had dealt in Bureau schools. Language was also a problem.

> All of the high school interviewees remarked about the sudden increase in the educational demands from their teachers when first entering the public schools, but some claimed that they became accustomed to it. Their greatest difficulty, they said, was communication. Not only was it hard to keep up with the pace of the teacher's instructions, but some recalled having difficulty understanding the chatter of their fellow classmates on the playground. This discouraged a number of Apaches from making a greater effort to learn English. During recess many stayed with groups of their own kind and spoke Apache, experiencing perhaps for the first time the somber reality of their own uniqueness (Parmee : 46-47).

One of the continuing themes throughout Education for Cross-Cultural Enrichment is the necessity for seeing each child as an individual, and the need for each teacher to encourage and work with each child according to that child's needs. Yet hand-in-hand with this belief in the importance of the individual child was the assumption that all children from all cultures were alike in their emotional and psychological make-up, and so had similar motivations and could respond to the same kinds of stimuli. Adolescence was viewed as a time of confusion, uncertainty and rebellion against parental authority in all children, white and Indian, and because of this teenage rebellion, teachers were asked to be especially considerate and understanding.

> We must have a workable understanding of the growing-up process, the kind of behavior normally to expect at different stages in a child's development from childhood through adolescence, the type of behavior that gives signs of lack of progress in the maturing process...Without this understanding we may handle the problems of a child as if he were a problem child, and by our mistakes we could actually start him traveling in negative directions instead of the positive directions we hope for him (1964:53).

This implied attitude toward children and adolescents tended to create problems for both students and teachers, as witness the often-repeated story of Pueblo children who, when sent to the blackboard, always finished arithmetic problems all at the same time in order that no one child would triumph in competition over the others. Instead of viewing children of different cultures as requiring different methods and techniques of teaching than those methods and techniques used in teaching white children, Bureau attitudes implied that all children of all cultures should respond to the same stimuli and teachers understandably became rather confused or discouraged in the face of behavior with which they were not familiar and for which they had not been prepared.

TABLE VI

	1960	1961*	1962	1963	1964
Total Enumerated	145,998	125,450	132,315	137,071	147,366
Public	84,650	64,987	69,651	72,159	79,286
Mission	11,289	8,883	9,024	9,292	9,236
Fed. Day	16,025	16,370	16,865	17,874	18,478
Fed. Bd.	21,352	22,506	22,022	21,911	25,654
Not enrolled	8,881	9,691	9,734	10,794	11,310
Not known	3,801	3,013	5,019	5,041	3,402
BIA schools					
Elementary	28,509	29,767	29,994	30,635	33,032
High school	5,568	5,768	6,132	7,190	8,204
H.S. graduates	961	1,040	973	1,064	1,320
Total enrollment					
(6 to 18)	133,316	112,746*	117,562	121,236	132,654
(-6, +18)	8,232	8,092	8,752	10,563	9,927
Total	6,117	6,194	5,919	5,569**	4,863
Special Navajo	5,186	5,027	4,784		
Other	961	1,167	1,135	5,569	4,863
Grad. Special Navajo	477	513	481	369	196

*In 1961, children from the states of California, Idaho, Michigan, Nebraska, Oregon (except for the Warm Springs Agency), Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin were dropped from the BIA school census.

**Special Navajo Program students were no longer designated separately from other "special students" from 1963 on, due to a reorganization of the program. The reorganization included both a change in the curricula and the admission of Indians from tribes other than the Navajo into the program.

VII. Conclusion

Since 1928, the educational philosophy and policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has shifted with the changes in Bureau administration and the attitudes prevalent in Congress at a given time. Although, in general, the overall goal of the Branch of Education has been to assimilate Indians into the mainstream of American life, the philosophy and methods of how assimilation was to be accomplished have not been consistent over the past 40-odd years. Under John Collier, educational programs were oriented toward self-sufficiency on the reservations and a respect for Indian traditions and their present way of life. Assimilation was to be a slow, voluntary process, if it occurred at all, but it was hoped that Indian peoples, while benefiting from white medical, educational, vocational and agricultural training, would retain their spiritual and tribal values. Vocational and agricultural training to enable Indians to utilize their own resources and so become self-supporting on the reservations was the main program orientation of the Branch of Education under Willard Beatty. Day schools were to replace boarding schools as the institutions responsible for the education of Indian children, and these day schools were to serve as community centers for both children and adults. In-service training programs for Bureau personnel were initiated and Indian Education, a fortnightly field letter, was published to acquaint personnel in the field with Washington policies and newer methods of education.

The period between Collier's resignation in 1944 and the appointment of Dillon Myer in 1950 was a time of increasing Congressional pressure on the above goals and methods and a slow re-orientation of the educational program away from the vocational-agricultural training to one focusing on the more academic college preparatory course of study offered in state-supported schools. All schools except those in New Mexico and Arizona were accredited in their given states. The Bureau initiated its first testing program of the level of achievement of Indian children in school environments and began a crash program for the education of Navajo children who had never previously attended any school.

The administrations of Myer, Emmons, and Nash were periods of decided shifts in policy away from reservation-oriented educational programs. The goal of educational policy led to the goal of termination, i.e., to provide an educational program that would hasten the final assimilation of Indian peoples. In most cases, this program was considered to be one of simply placing Indian children in the public school system, leaving the actual implementation of such an assimilation program in the hands of the local public schools and the state school system. In the Bureau schools themselves, the educational philosophy was directed toward changing behavior patterns of Indian children to enable them to fit into non-Indian culture, and the educational program was shifted more and more toward the college preparatory curricula of the given states. Vocational training was virtually eliminated from the high school program altogether and became a post-high school program at special institutions.

The immediate goals of the Bureau Education Branch were expressed by Mrs. Thompson in 1963.

> 1) High school graduation for 90% of high school age students by 1970.
> 2) College enrollment for 50% of the high school graduates by 1970.
> 3) Vocational and technical training beyond high school for 50% of the high school graduates by 1970. (276).

In one sense and based on the past record of Indian children (and white children, for that matter) these goals were quite unrealistic; however, by setting the goals of the Bureau quite high, it was hoped that the teaching staff could encourage the attainment of a level of education of the Indian population quite beyond the levels obtained by setting lesser goals.

Summer sessions for Indian children were initiated to provide them with increased opportunities for remedial schooling, recreation, and the earning of money, and the Special Navajo Project was broadened to include Indian children from all reservations.

Achievements of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Education have been many; but equally outstanding are the glaring failures and problems which were reported in in the Meriam Report and which persist to the present time.

Perhaps the most obvious achievement and the most simple to report is the increased number of Indian children in school in 1964 as compared to 1929. Much of this increase was due to population increase, but in 1964, when 11,310 children between 6 and 18 were not enrolled in school, 1933 figures indicate an unenrolled number of 17,000. The number of schools remained roughly the same but the capacity of Bureau schools had increased from 26,810 (1929) to approximately 40,000. The number of high schools (through 12th grade) had increased from six in 1929 to 26 in 1964, and the Bureau operated three post-high school institutions (Haskell Institute, the Institute of American Indian Arts and Chilocco Indian School).

By 1964, the Bureau schools were staffed by professional personnel at all levels--teachers, school superintendents, administrators, advisory staff, education specialists, etc. There were various guidelines issued to personnel to aid them in their work, and in-service training programs and conferences enabled personnel to discuss and evaluate their problems in teaching, solutions to these problems, and evaluate their performances as teachers, etc.

The health of Indian children, particularly the near-eradication of trachoma and tuberculosis (among school children), had been improved to a remarkable degree by the efforts of the Branch of Education, Indian Health Service, and the Public Health Service (since 1953). Facilities were no longer a hazard to the health of Indian children by their very existence. Malnutrition among Indian children was no longer the prevalent condition in boarding schools; even the severest critics of the system of boarding schools had to concede that children were well-fed and received competent medical care.

A greater number of Indian children were both attending and graduating from high school, public and federal, and scholarships and loans to Indian students made it possible for many more Indians to attend college (over 3,000 in 1963). In general, the educational level of the Indian population in 1964 was higher (despite a 60% dropout rate) than it had been in 1928; the adult population under 45 had achieved an educational level of the eighth grade (Thompson 1964:301).

The attitude of the Bureau personnel in Washington, as expressed in hearings and reports, was, in general, one of sympathy and concern for Indian welfare; this general attitude of sympathy and concern was shared by many members of the Bureau in the field, and contrasts strongly with the attitudes reported by the staff of the Meriam survey team. The importance of the individual was stressed by the Washington staff, and the rigid militaristic system of school operation had long since been discarded by the Branch of Education.

The most obvious failure of the school system was indicated by the 60% dropout rate of Indian children in both public and Bureau Schools, although in a recent study (1967), the dropout rate for Indians in grades 8 through 12 in the Southwest had fallen to 38.7% (as compared to a national average of 25.6%) (Owens and Bass 1969:3). In addition, the high incidence of social and psychological problems among Indian children (including a high rate of suicides and suicide attempts among children in boarding schools) also indicate that education practices and policies concerning Indian children have not achieved overwhelming success. Achievement levels of Indian children as a group do not reach the achievement levels of white middle-class children in the same grade and/or age range. The problems of poverty thought to be eradicable through the school system and education still persist among Indians who have attended school and who have, in many cases, graduated from high school.

For those who wish to see Indian peoples assimilated into the general population of America, the schools have failed--Indian beliefs, values, and the reservation system, and Indian attachment to their reservations still persist. And for those who wish to see the continuance of Indian traditions and values, also, the schools have failed--the schools do not teach a respect for Indian traditions and do not teach in a manner which would enable Indian children to be a continuing part of the Indian heritage.

Perhaps the greatest failure of the Branch of Education, at least in the recent past, has been to separate education, or schooling, from the community from which the children come. If anything, this situation has not even been considered a problem or a goal to achieve, let alone a failure of the school system or its philosophy. In fact, there has been an underlying attempt to separate the child from his community and to ignore the child's home and parents. Few people, if any, ever pointed out that the objective of placing children in boarding schools was self-defeating in terms of the attempts to give Indian children experiences similar to those of white children. One of the most basic experiences of all children is interaction with parents and siblings, yet by placing Indian children in boarding schools, particularly at young ages, in order to expose children to experiences and attitudes faced by white children, the Bureau was cancelling out one of the most usual and basic of all experiences, growing up with one's family. Rather than viewing the school as a part of the total environment of home and community, the school has been considered as a separate environment connected to the child's home and community by the thin ties of an accident of birth; it is considered that these two environments should not merge.

A rising criticism of the Bureau of Indian Affairs educational program has been not so much the failure of the Bureau to achieve its educational goals, but the goals themselves and the manner in which these goals are arrived at. The lack of participation of both parents and tribal leaders in the decision-making processes by which educational policies and programs are established are a matter of increasing concern among reform-minded Indians and whites alike. So also is there increasing protest over the educational policy that is directed toward the total assimilation of Indian peoples without regard to the differing traditions and heritages of these Indian peoples themselves. The total orientation of school curricula toward white middle-class attitudes, values, and toward what the middle class considers important and relevant is being challenged by what Indians consider relevant and important.

It is growing increasingly evident that many Indian groups and many Indian individuals do not wish to be absorbed into American culture, even though they do wish economic and social independence--in other words, self-sufficiency, but as an Indian.

> Some people think that Indians need to quit being Indians to meet today's challenges, but we don't go along with this. The Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council is working to ADAPT, and not discard, our ways toward building a modern Indian way of life. (Attributed to Arvid Miller by Dorothy Davids in the Madison Capital Times, Monday, November 11, 1968).

The Bureau of Indian Affairs and many whites are just beginning to realize and accept this point of view. In education this will require a decided shift in the goals of Bureau Educational policy. The type of thinking implied by the term "culturally disadvantaged" certainly needs to be reevaluated, since the term often implies a lack of any cultural background at all. While Indian children do not have, in general, the same background and the same perspectives as white children, to consider this background as "disadvantaged" and, therefore, inferior, is quite often not only extremely arrogant on the part of the white school system but ultimately self-defeating--the majority of Indian children do not learn in an environment where these attitudes are prevalent. The following quote is rather interesting with regard to the values of the teacher in teaching aspects of "advantaged" culture to Indian children. The attitude expressed below is in sharp contrast to Thompson's attitude concerning the role of the teacher, the choices presented to children, and the decisions children are expected to make.

> Public education has a strong commitment to imbuing learners with concepts of what is "right". The typical classroom atmosphere is laden with overtones of goodness and badness. The teacher may plunge headfirst into conflict when he attempts to force his own beliefs in a community where values differ from his. However, the classroom does not have to be the battleground for imposed value changes.
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> Since the teacher only transmits elements of White culture, he should concentrate his efforts in providing his young pupils with those skills that can be taught in school which will give a child access to opportunities in the dominant society if the child chooses to avail himself of these opportunities. These skills obviously include literacy, standard English, and job information. There are, in addition, certain important "values" held in common by members of the dominant society that can be taught to Indian pupils as skills rather than as values so that they will know how to act whenever they engage in formal interactions with middle-class Whites. Important among these skills are the behavioral meanings of punctuality, cleanliness, courtesy, responsibility, respect for property, and dependability in performing tasks. While such attributes are accepted as intrinsically good in a middle-class schoolroom, they can be taught as skills to children who are still too immature to be confronted with whether or not to accept the value system underlying them. In this way the teacher can avoid setting up unnecessary conflict for the child between the family and the school (Wolcott 1967:128-29).

The Meriam Report stressed that change imposed from above was useless and that unless Indians themselves wanted change, programs of the BIA and other agencies would not succeed in either assimilating Indians or result in their self-sufficiency (401). Thus, a reorientation will require the active seeking and acceptance of the participation of Indian peoples in the formation of school goals and policy decisions. It will also require a shift away from a totally middle-class oriented curriculum to one which recognizes Indian-oriented subjects. Both of the above points are tied into the related theme of the relevance of the school curriculum for Indian children, and so must be considered in the light of what parents and the children themselves want to learn, not only what school officials (and usually outsiders) feel that the children should be taught.

Indications that such a shift in perspective is occurring have appeared within the past few years. As one indication, the Navajo Community College, located near Many Farms on the Navajo Reservation, celebrated its first year of operation this January. Funds for a bilingual program at the Rough Rock Demonstration School (also on the Navajo Reservation) have recently (December, 1969) been approved by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This awareness of "minority-group perspectives" has come within the scope of educators and others largely due to the sound and the fury created by blacks in the past decade, but the questions asked by black educators, parents, etc., concerning the schools their children attend can be asked of the schools Indian children attend. The emphasis on "black perspectives" has created a climate where the perspectives of all minority groups are being focused upon in relation to school systems.

The ultimate responsibility for the failure of the Bureau to achieve many of its educational goals must rest with the members of Congress. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, regardless of the persuasions of its members or the Commissioner at a given time, has invariably been the target of criticism from "civilians", Indians, and one faction or a another of Congress, usually all attacking the Bureau for reasons diametrically opposed to the reasons of another group. And in a great many instances, the Bureau is subject to criticism for those very activities required of it or limited by Congress. Thus the Bureau has continually been charged with not providing enough school seats for Indian children --yet it was Congress and the two Appropriations Committees who continually refused to provide the money for the construction of schools. There is no question but that there is a need for guidance personnel and psychiatric personnel in Bureau (and public) schools to help children with social and mental problems--yet Congress is reluctant to allocate money for the hiring of such personnel. The policy statements of members of Congress (as in H. Res. 108) and the allocation of funds only to those programs which would implement Congressional opinion often quite effectively bar any program of the Bureau which might differ from the opinions of Congressmen.

If members of Congress and particularly the Appropriations Committees had been thoroughly informed as to Indian affairs, the above practices might have resulted in a more effective Bureau of Indian Affairs. However, to be fair to Congress, Indians and Indian affairs constitute a small minority of the peoples and problems faced by Congress, and members of Congress usually did not thoroughly research the problems of Indians or possible solutions to those problems. Policy decisions were quite often based on an opinion of a principle--and whether the principle involved was effective or even relevant and whether or not other principles applied was not a matter of concern to many Congressmen. Thus Congressional attacks on the activities of the Bureau with regard to implementation of the IRA were repeatedly couched in terms of the "communistic" activities of the Bureau, and the contention of many Congressmen that Bureau schools should teach the same courses, grade for grade, as the public schools were usually expressed as principles to follow and were not really considered in terms of Indian problems and realities. Usually the goal of saving money (or the appearance of it) was considered a valid enough reason to restrain the Bureau from pursuing programs above the mere minimum of supplying teachers and classroom seats--pre-school programs, guidance programs, library facilities, etc., were sacrificed in the name of economy. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, must take the blame for not providing these programs--as it will take the blame in later years when current minor problems become major problems and ultimately more costly to solve.

Education for all American Indians has long been a desirable goal, but it has not been until the past ten years or so that education for all has been considered an obtainable goal. And once again, the question of "education for what?" is being asked of Indian education by whites and by Indians. Hopefully, this thesis will provide background for others who wish to probe educational policies and activities on individual reservations. Further research also needs to be done among individual Indians and tribal groups to find out their reactions to the educational activities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to probe more deeply into the manner in which these activities have affected the lives of Indian children and adults. No longer can Indians be left out of Indian education, not if the Bureau truly wishes to obtain its goals of an educated and self-sufficient Indian populace.

Notes

1. Clyde Kluckhohn, in discussing the implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act, comments on this disparity of attitude and action between the Washington staff and the field personnel:

   > Mr. Collier insisted that the Indian Service should learn in a systematic and orderly way something about the ways of life of the various tribes that were being administered. This was done, and given the inevitable limitations of time and money, it was reasonably well done. But what was not done was a study of the other tribe, the tribe of the bureaucracy which is a very special sub-culture: The United States Indian Service.
   >
   > And a great deal of what Mr. Collier and his associates planned in a sophisticated way in Washington was not put into effect because insufficient attention was paid to the habitual ways of thinking and reacting of the group out in the field. It was not that Indian Service field representatives were irresponsible, or insincere, or unintelligent, by and large. It was simply that their own subculture screened both the instructions they got from Washington and their appraisal of the local situation (1954:31).

2. Collier's nomination was opposed by Franz Boas, who felt that Collier was too romantic and impractical to be able to deal with the problems of Indians and the Indian Service.

3. The American Indian Association, in the light of today's trend toward respect for one's cultural past and Indian traditions, is in a curious position. In the Association's own words, "this oldest strictly 'Indian organization' represents a large and wide circle of progressive Indians both on and off reservations" (Hearings: 389). Yet this group was devoted to the absorption of Indians by whites and objected vehemently to any of Collier's attempts to promote Indian culture, be it the teaching of Indian languages in schools, or the mere policy that Indians, as other Americans, were entitled to religious freedom even though that religion were non-Christian. They saw the Indian Bureau as the impediment to full Indian citizenship and the rights and duties of citizenship--their goal was to eliminate the BIA and thereupon free the Indian to be a self-sufficient, totally unrestricted individual who would then be capable of being absorbed into white citizenship. Thus, they quoted General Pratt:

> Better, far better, for the Indians if there had never been a Bureau. Then self-preservation would have led the individual Indian to find his true place, and his real emancipation would have been speedily consummated (Hearings:389).

4. For further and more detailed assessment of the Indian Reorganization Act, see Theodore Hass, Ten Years of Tribal Government Under IRA (1947); the Hoover Commission Report, 1948; and the American Anthropological Association's Symposium Indian Affairs and the Indian Reorganization Act: The Twenty Year Record, edited by William H. Kelly, 1954.

5. The amendment of February, 1921, to the Act of February 14, 1920, gave the Secretary of the Interior the authorization to make rules and regulations to secure the enrollment and attendance of Indian children in either government or public schools. In general, the laws of the given states were to serve as compulsory education laws (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1921:7).

6. The "cultual value" of the Navajo that the writers of the Phelps-Stokes report could not accept was Navajo religion. Circular No. 2970 of the Commissioner accorded to the Navajo (and to other Indians) freedom of religion as granted by the Constitution to all religious groups, and also insisted that Christian missionaries could not coerce or compel children to attend church services. The Phelps-Stokes Report comments that:

   > The more doubtful of these efforts to save the Indian heritage are: (1) The vigorous championship of Navajo Religious Liberty when it is not always clear whether it is religion or a mixture of old ceremonialism disrupted by ruthless civilization and crudely revived by Native leaders for their own profit and power; (2) The consequent rating of modern and more rational religious organizations in the same class as the primitive forms of Navajo ceremonialism (28).

   Shades of Lewis Henry Morgan.

7. To keep the records straight, it may be useful to note the bills and accompanying reports. House Report 2503 was to accompany House Resolution 698; House Report 2680 and House Report 208 were to accompany House Resolution 89 (83rd Congress, 2nd session), and House Report 841, Senate Report 794, were to accompany House Concurrent Resolution 108, and Senate Report 38 was to accompany Senate Resolution 32 (82nd Congress, 1st session). All of these resolutions except 108 authorized Congress

to make investigations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in order to facilitate the withdrawal of Federal responsibility. The reports were either the results of the investigations (2503 and 2680) or were House Documents reporting favorably on the passage of such resolutions as would have authorized an investigation.

8. It might be pointed out by this passage that Senator Watkins is expressing a viewpoint which reoccurs with some degree of frequency among those who saw the Bureau as a deterrent to Indian progress-the genetic transmission of character traits. The Indian, as a race, had "natural qualities" of honor, dignity, resourcefullness, etc., that were being undermined by the paternalism of the Bureau; if the Bureau were removed, these natural, innate characteristics would surface and the Indian could stand alone. In this view, the findings of psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists on the development of cultural and psychological traits which are expressed by people are ignored in favor of the transmission of traits, not by social means, but by racial and therefore genetic (or by "blood") means.

9. This apparent paradox is explained by noting that the Indian Division of the Public Health Service maintains Indian hospitals for "indigent" Indians and others. Thus if an Indian child has a cold, he's likely to stay home and sniffle; if he catches pneumonia, he's carted off to an Indian hospital. "Minor" but still debilitating diseases are less likely to be treated because many Indian parents are not likely to be able to afford a doctor or melication, and Public Health Service personnel are often too busy at a hospital to make house calls over long distances.

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